THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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LEGISLATING LOYALTY
Kenneth M. Gould

THE MICROSCOPE BECKONS!
Raymond F. Yates

FURIOUS FUTILITY IN CRIME TREATMENT
Joseph Fulling Fishman

HAS PSYCHOLOGY FAILED?
Joseph Jastrow

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SUMMER · 1935 VOLUME 4 · No. 3

The American Scholar

A GENUINE energetic interest in the cause of human freedom will manifest itself in a jealous and unremitting care for the influence of social institutions upon the attitudes of curiosity, inquiry, weighing and testing of evidence. I shall begin to believe that we care more for freedom than we do for imposing our own beliefs upon others in order to subject them to our will, when I see that the main purpose of our schools and other institutions is to develop powers of unremitting and discriminating observation and judgment.

. . . It has often been assumed that freedom of speech, oral and written, is independent of freedom of thought—but you cannot take the latter away in any case, since it goes on inside . . . where it cannot be got at. No idea could be more mistaken. Expression of ideas in communication is one of the indispensable conditions of the awakening of thought not only in others, but in ourselves. If ideas when aroused cannot be communicated they either fade away or became warped and morbid. The open air of public discussion and communication is an indispensable condition of the birth of ideas and knowledge and of other growth into health and vigor.

"Philosophies of Freedom"—JOHN DEWEY
From *Freedom in the Modern World*,
edited by HORACE M. KALLEN

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The American Scholar

Summer · 1935 Vol. 4 · No. 3

Contents

Public Enemy No. 1 — W. A. S. — 260

Has Psychology Failed? — Joseph Jastrow — 261

A retrospect of the merits and follies of the psychological dispensation, the "proprietary solutions," "schisms," and liveliest belligerents in the psychological arena.

From 1888 to 1926 professor of psychology, the University of Wisconsin; at one time President of the American Psychological Association.

A Planned Economy for Wall Street — Charles H. Meyer — 270

An appraisal of the economic consequences of the Securities Acts of 1933 and 1934 under which our securities tend to become public utilities rather than organizations for private gain.

Member of the Committee of Law Reform, Association of the Bar, City of New York; author of *The Securities Exchange Act of 1934 Analyzed and Explained.*

Gustave Lanson — Jean-Albert Bédé — 286

"Creator in France of the school of literary history"; exemplar of the "intellectual humility he advocated."

Agrégé des Lettres from France and alumnus of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, where he studied under M. Lanson's directorship.

Furious Futility in Crime Treatment — Joseph Fulling Fishman — 292

Why squander our resources on incarcerations that do not protect society or punish, reform, or deter the short-term and usually harmless offender from further offenses?

For twelve years only inspector of prisons for the federal government; Deputy Commissioner of Correction, N. Y. C., 1930–33; member of the faculty, New School for Social Research, N. Y. C.

Rise and Fall of Cartoon Symbols — William Murrell — 306

An illustrated glimpse of the menagerie whose members have sharpened countless graphic political thrusts.

For many years associated with the Metropolitan Museum of Art; author of several books, including *A History of American Graphic Humor*, Vol. I; is now at work on Vol II.

The Negro in Industry — George Sinclair Mitchell — 316

Is mixed unionism a way out from prejudice, interracial violence, and industrial and agricultural serfdom in the South?

For the past few months has been engaged in a survey of the Negro in industrial rehabilitation, undertaken for the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation in Atlanta.

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Contents

How Radical Are College Students? — Harold Seidman — 326

How compatible is radicalism with the full stomachs of our still largely bourgeois student body?

As managing editor of the *Brown Daily Herald* in 1933 organized the first intercollegiate anti-war campaign in this country.

Emerson in Dundee — Townsend Scudder III — 331

Concerning Emerson's hectic tour of the British Isles as lyceum lecturer; and his encounter with the rugged Calvinist, Gilfillan, fiery as champion or foe.

Edited *The Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle to Joseph Neuberg.*

Prophecy, *A Poem* — Diana Kearny Powell — 344

Legislating Loyalty — Kenneth M. Gould — 345

An insistent parallel between the goosestep of Fascism and the movement, sponsored by the D. A. R., American Legion, and other vigilantes, to require from teachers and students an oath of allegiance.

Editor of many books and pamphlets; contributor to *Dictionary of American Biography*; author of "Social Factors in Revolution," AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Winter 1935.

The Microscope Beckons! — Raymond Francis Yates — 356

To examine life in more of its "million moods" — a hobby for amateurs.

Managing Editor of *Popular Science*, 1921–23; author of various books, popular and technical.

Illustrations:

Brick Carrier	Edmund Archer	*Facing page*	261
The Stock Exchange	Charles H. Meyer		285
The Providential Detection, *A Cartoon*			309
The Tammany Tiger Loose, *A Cartoon*	Thomas Nast		313

In the Realm of Scholarship

Theobald Smith — Simon Henry Gage — 365

The New Webster Dictionary — Thomas A. Knott — 371

Marietta College and Early Education in the West — Rufus C. Dawes — 373

Discussion

Dare the Teacher Breathe? — Georgia Harkness — 377

The 100 Per Cent System Again — Richard A. Lester — 379

American Humor: Roots or Flowers? — J. De Lancey Ferguson — 380

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PUBLIC ENEMY No. 1

NOT in Russia or Germany but in America, admired and excellent college presidents—I wish I dared to name just two—are being dismissed because they do not happen to belong to the political party temporarily in control of the state. A systematic program is under way to regulate teachers and students on a state and national scale by requiring them to take oaths. Text books are censored and universities are investigated by ignorant politicians. Teachers in schools and universities alike are being driven to form unions to protect themselves from arbitrary dismissal and, which is worse, from intellectual dictatorship. In many communities a teacher is virtually disenfranchised—he dares not speak his mind on political, economic, or religious questions even outside the classroom.

The very citizens who best understand history, sociology, and the truer values of individual and social life are threatened with domination by those who hold the power to starve and imprison. The very minds most willing to give themselves disinterestedly to the quest and dissemination of truth for the welfare of all are terrorized by shortsighted vote-seekers and conscientious ignoramuses who would sacrifice the hard-won values of freedom to temporary material needs. Equally ignorant are the would-be reformers intent upon a plan for perfecting human society overnight.

May God grant us wisdom and patience to keep faith with the slow but mighty forces of free democracy and grant us enough humility and sense to appreciate those persons who see things differently from us. Only by absolute freedom to think and speak can man dare hope for a permanently better world. He who would destroy either is Public Enemy No. 1. Have not baseball and football and Presidential campaigns and other competitive games made good sports of Americans? Are some of us still such poor sports we cannot "take it" in the play of intellect upon intellect?

The only way to preserve and create great institutions of learning is to associate great minds and personalities and give them entire freedom of thought and expression. Only so can America and mankind gradually but surely attain a high civilization and rich culture and be saved from disease, poverty, war, false patriots, selfish politicians, and other pests.

W. A. S.

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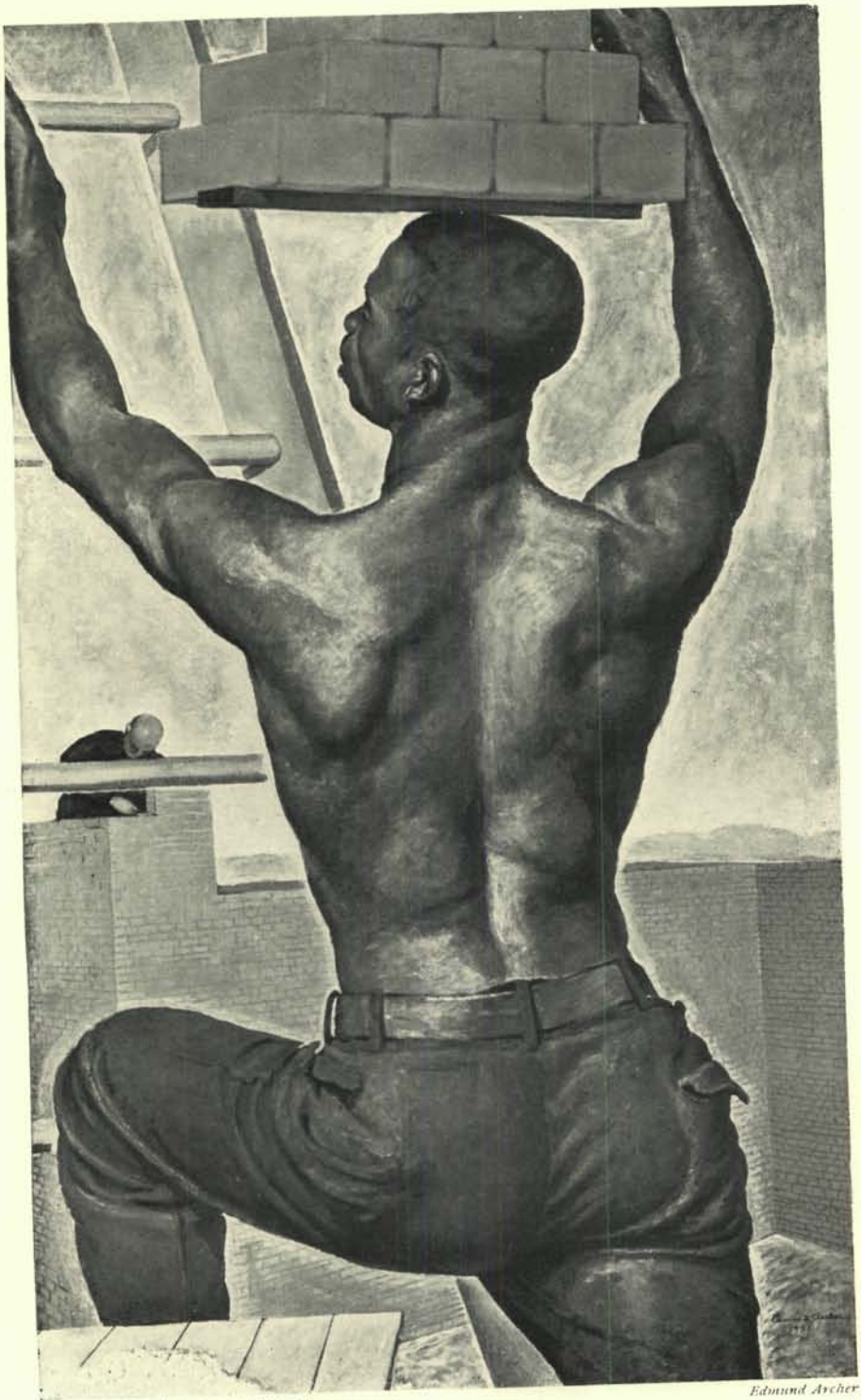

Edmund Archer

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Has Psychology Failed?

JOSEPH JASTROW

WILLIAM JAMES, most honored of psychologists, records the note of failure in describing his own great text—since become a classic—as "a loathsome, distended, putrified, dropsical mass, testifying to nothing but two facts: first, that there is no such thing as a *science* of Psychology, and second, that W. J. is an incapable." He carried on his psychological genius to the more congenial climes of philosophy. G. Stanley Hall, psychologist for a lifetime, confessed his "growing dissatisfaction with the results and a growing uncertainty as to whether we are really on the right trails." He sets forth "that the condition of psychology is far from satisfactory, and that the promise of two decades ago has not been fulfilled" (1923). Both these pioneers in American psychology I knew, and knew from them the sources of their discontent. If I may presume to render a verdict in 1935—admitting my own *peccavi*—it would be one of agreement, confirmed by the nearer outlook. James had in mind—and Hall partly so—the mode of emergence of modern psychology, as made in Germany. Hall's encyclopedic spread subordinated his early addiction to Teutonic midnight oil; James ever found that lamp of learning stuffy, yet indispensable. He called Muensterberg to be his laboratory vicar.

The present generation has but a waning interest in origins of a half-century ago. They know that the psychological laboratory was first established at Leipzig by William Wundt, where the innovation aroused suspicion among the *Gelehrte*, sceptical as to whether the soul had really been captured and placed on the dissecting table; also that it attracted the freer venturing minds of a small but influential following from beyond the seas. A new career in psychology, patterned after the manner of the exact sciences, was heralded in Hall's first book, *Aspects of German*

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Culture—an ominous title today. Some decades before there had been an attempt to reduce psychology to measurement. It began with so lowly a performance as judging, by lifting, which of a pair of weights was the heavier and plotting endless series of "just observable differences." It culminated in the *Psychophysics* of Fechner—a strange fusion of a mystic and an exactist—described by James as "the patient whimsies of a dear old man" to whom belongs "the imperishable glory" of setting psychology on the wrong tack. Wundt's experimental explorations of the mental structure grew to comprehensive proportions; they placed psychology on the academic map. They inspired Hall's pioneer efforts at Johns Hopkins, leading to doctorates in psychology, of which I happened to be the first recipient. The most complete parallel of Leipzig in America was established cosmopolitanly at a new-world Ithaca by a British Titchener who in Oxford gown and manner inducted Yankee disciples into Teutonic methods. Up to the end, in 1927, he resisted the tidal wave of innovation all along the psychological front, particularly the swarming hosts of applied psychology, resolved that the academic robe of pure psychology should not be defiled by the overalls of practice. To him psychology was a *Fach*, a pedigreed *Wissenschaft*. What to Titchener was the glory of psychology was to James and Hall —and to each differently—the warrant of its failure. They looked beyond horizons, as we do today ever more hospitably, more world-consciously.

Experiment continues to be the major occupation of psychologists; by that route psychology became an accredited science. To attempt a balance-sheet and consider how far the psychological plants are paying dividends is too large a venture for the present purpose. Despite the rapprochement of worldly reference and scientific pursuit the psychologist's laboratory is still too much a bowling alley where artificial pins are set up in formal patterns and tumbled down and scored. The strikes made have only a distant relation to the set-up in the rest of the world. What is measurable is not by that circumstance made more significant. We measure what we can, not what we would, and reach the

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measurement by way of assumptions that weaken, coerce, or distort the very relationships we would appraise. The essential measure of rationality may escape the ingenuity that devises the tests. The worship of the golden foot rule is a modern form of idolatry. The assurance of many an experimentalist is conditioned upon an insensitiveness to psychological values. There is no inherent validity in numbers, no sanctity in equations. They may embody important and valid truths or trivial inconsequences or pretentious errors. Laboratory artefacts are imperfect substitutes for complete human situations. Until psychology becomes more critical of its line of march James's scepticism and Hall's disappointment will hold and my sympathetic repetition of their lament remain pertinent.

The early misdirection of psychology was the failure to follow wholeheartedly the biological lead—from the beginning to the end of the chapter. The concept of evolution was at hand, its power to fertilize the psychic pastures feebly appreciated. A sense of it appears in the eclectic contributions of Francis Galton, who was a keener psychologist for not being one professionally. In them is foreshadowed the true consummation: that the psychologist is to become the naturalist of the mind. The banner under which the representative majority of present-day psychologists are actually enrolled—though they do not say so and may not know it—I have labeled "naturalistic psychology." Its scope has expanded far beyond the vista of twenty years ago.

The necessity of a name I deplore, for there is but one psychology—as there is one physics, one physiology; I am merely designating a basic position. It is not—God save the mark! another schism, another proprietary solution. It indicates a trend dominant for decades, productive of sober and significant contributions. The conflict of the psychologies in learned arenas and in popular forums is a further dismal evidence of its crucial failure. Exposed to persuasive appeals that this or that system alone is the gospel truth, and none genuine without a personal signature, the layman is justifiably irritated into exclaiming: A plague on all your schools!

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Two claimants to the psychological dominion are peculiarly belligerent, behaviorism and psychoanalysis. Behaviorism McDougall calls a bastard product. I view its parentage more charitably. It represents a legitimate protest against the anti-naturalism of the orthodox psychology which was so long in the saddle —more precisely, against the neglect of the naturalistic axiom that the human organism, mind and all, from guts to cortex, and all its expressions from sigh to soliloquy, is root, stem, and blossom an instrument of behavior. In any meaningful sense substantially all American psychologists were behaviorists long before 1912, which Watson makes the year of annunciation of the dispensation, renunciation of the error of previous ways, and denunciation of the rest of his brethren. Unfortunately the Knight of Behaviorism has set his lance at an untenanted windmill. The fallacy of the behaviorist's formula lies in the omitted terms with the result that, were he consistent, his cupboard would be as bare as Mother Hubbard's; he smuggles in his provender from stores which he ignores. He naïvely sets forth that under the *stimulus* of a falling apple a horse in the pasture *responds* by munching it; under the same *stimulus* a Newton *responds* by evolving the law of gravitation. The difference is said to be explained by the different habit-systems of physicist and horse, or by recalling that they were differently conditioned by their respective parents. Even that illustration is unduly complimentary to the explanatory value of the behaviorist's barren formula of stimulus and response. It is nearer to his level of solution to select as a parallel the philanthropic machine attached to the pillars in the subway, which to the stimulus of a copper cent responds with a block of chocolate or if stimulated in another vent to its reflexes responds with a stick of chewing gum, ignoring the while the part played in the result by both Mr. Wrigley and the designer of the machine.

Under this simple and lucid, but somewhat adolescent, dispensation there is no more need for psychology than for the theology that discovered in the apple the Fall of Man. The folly of behaviorism, fairly obvious in its premises, becomes glaring in

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its conclusion, which requires of its believers the courage to deny large areas of compelling fact. Heredity is nullified, insanity is made an illusion of the examining psychiatrist, imagery inconsistently becomes imaginary, and consciousness a phobia, avoided by defensive circumlocutions.

There was one consoling fact imported from Russia and sadly overworked on its arrival. This was the *conditioned reflex* of a front-paged dog, whose saliva started rivers of ink and floods of uncritical theories. Conditioning became the universal solvent; the behavioristic redemption of mankind was at hand. So far as concerns the major reaches of human behavior the actual and important truth is that the big brain—our chief glory and no less the source of our direct woes—is an intricate mechanism for delivering us from the slavery of conditioning. The cerebral cortex is a proclamation of emancipation, still, however, "conditioned" by the ancient bondage.

Contemporary with the earthquake of behaviorism came the air raid of Freudianism. Strangely enough, in one point of attack —the nursery—they agreed. The infant was doomed by maternal conditioning in the one version, by a resurrected Œdipus incest in the other. No theological damnation of the innocents carried so awful a charge as "infant sexuality," "polymorphous pervert," hurled indiscriminately at all babes. Their later characters were destined to be molded, not by the influences of the schoolroom or the amenities of the drawing room, but by the intimate ceremonies customarily confined to the bathroom. Parents became bewildered by the antics of psychologists, popularized by news-value standards. The public forgot that the great body of safe and sane psychologists were quite otherwise minded and otherwise employed.

I have touched upon only some of the circumstances responsible for the chaotic appearance presented by psychology and the rationale of its failure to lead a respectable scientific life. Most remote from my intention is it to belittle Freud. I regard him as a master mind whose originality of insight has brought into the psychological picture an important illumination. I regret that

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the deficiencies in his logic, his ignorings, his flagrant misinterpretations of the precepts of a naturalistic psychology, have led him into woeful extravagance in application. This invited the disaster which his followers completed.

The heroic values of Freud's psychology lie in the adequate recognition of the emotional life, the play of subconscious functioning, including fantasy, the great extent of psychogenic influence, all directed to the abnormal mind and by that illumination reinforcing the understanding of our normal being. The supplementing of the laboratory by the clinic developed a truer perspective of wherein we highly psychological creatures have our being; but the *homo Freudiens* is not an authentic rendering of the psyche of human nature. To complement psychology and investigate unexplored areas is one thing; to ignore the rest of the psychic world and the labors of others is quite another; and the dialects of Jung and Adler increase the babel of tongues.

The Freudian dispensation has indeed reconstructed the visage of *homo* and correctly in so far as it reinstates *homo sentiens* as primary to and conditioning *homo sapiens*. It is the *manner* of the restoration, with its capricious license of theory and extravagance of practice, that raises its error and menace far above its truth and benefits. Intellectual ventures may lead to as strange issues as geographical ones. The more complete analysis of hysterical patients in a then obscure Viennese clinic has changed the mental habits of an emancipated generation. Neither psychology nor civilization will ever return to a pre-Freudian stage.

Freud has ignored the academic psychologists and they have returned the compliment. They find his premises so unsupported by any naturalistic foundations, his conclusions so vitiated by false logic, that most of them reject his structure completely. The more tolerant ponder and select. And the essential values of "psychoanalysis" will remain. The Neo-Freudians in England and a small group of critical Freudians in Germany have begun the salvaging. But though professional Freudians may disappear, the valid deposit of their doctrines will be absorbed into the accredited body of psychology.

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Has Psychology Failed?

A retrospect of a quarter-century touches a pivotal period. In 1909 Freud and Jung came to this country at Stanley Hall's invitation—in those days a bold step for Hall to take. This was the first important academic recognition of psychoanalysis. The same year is memorable for the transfer of Binet and Simon's mental tests to American soil. Their establishment gave the decisive impetus to the emergence of an applied psychology, congenial to the pragmatic temper of our pursuits. The era of tests is highly characteristic of the psychological scene. As an instrument of social, industrial, and educational diagnosis they have been vastly extended. Side by side with able leadership and significant accomplishments this open sesame to research has led to the uncritical acceptance of the I. Q. as though it were engraved on the brain structure and Binet had deciphered it. Its use by many workers in this wide-open field gives the impression that intelligence has been discovered to be the capacity to pass intelligence tests; its true nature as well as available indices remain to be determined. The I. Q. is a useful wedge and no more. It is only by having the limitations of the tests constantly in mind that they can be validly applied.

The immense vogue of applied psychology has added to the difficulty of a sound program. If judged by the volume of output the tail appears to wag the dog; if judged by the industry of many of its protagonists the intention is to reconstruct the creature in the image of its caudal appendage. When elaborate observations are arranged and calculations employed to determine how fish and orange marmalade shall be costumed in type to "express the atmosphere of the commodity" one wonders whether bringing psychology to earth has been altogether a blessing.

The slums of psychological racketeering exploit the same demands for simple solutions, practical recipes, and panaceas. No country is so over-ridden with false prophets of pseudo-psychology and short-cut, uplift roads to learning as the land of "the Bigger and Better." The responsible custodians of psychology are not blameless. Devising a system seems to be the surest way to making a noise that shall be heard. The sooner systems and

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schools are relegated to the past the more promising the future, when the unity of psychology shall be accepted as a preamble to its declaration of independence and its enrolment among the league of the sciences.

If called upon to indicate the approach and temper of naturalistic psychology—which unites the wandering tribes and points the way to the promised land—I cannot here outline a program; I can only set down its major tenets. It proceeds upon the conviction that psychology is all one unitary story, that of the life of the mind viewed as a naturalist would view it. That story appears in two versions, the one of the evolution of behavior, the other of the evolution of the nervous system, its counterpart. Life consists of feeling and thinking and the fusion of the two. The order, importance, and treatment of topics are thereby determined. Origins, mechanisms, service: these constitute the story of mind; everything relevant finds a place in that composition.

The present text-book chaos is the work of drifting pilots. They leave the student with the impression of a patch-work quilt whereas actually the mind is a tapestry. The recent advance in the investigation of mind rivals in dramatic moment and exceeds in consequence the physicist's reconception of the vast cosmos and the chemist's revelation of the infinitesimal but potent atom. The student, and more consequentially the educated man of affairs on whose vision the fate of the future will more and more responsibly fall, loses a vitalizing contact with psychology because its academic representatives have placed an obstructing screen of abstraction and technical ritual between the inquiring mind and the reality. More than a dislocated shoulder or fallen arches is wrong with psychology and answerable for much of its failure. The entire framework, created in the studio, is out of joint, presenting a manikin in place of a man. Gestalt psychology is as good an example as any. In itself a valid correction—a good orthopedic job—it launches itself with a panaceal flourish and adds to the confusion of tongues. Yet my faith in the redemption of psychology remains, for it has within itself, once the shouting and the tumult die, a valid principle of interpretation. It happens

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to be the interpretation of the most critical force in the universe; the human mind will either elevate or exterminate the race.

Any pronouncement that psychology has failed contrasts what might have been with what is. Because in the nearer perspective circumstance looms large, I have chosen as awful examples two strangely disturbing interludes, both in a measure extreme swings of the pendulum away from a too academic conception and toward mind as a living reality. Psychology as made in Germany, and psychology as made in America, have much to answer for. The American temper comes to the fore in the huge overgrowth of applied psychology, passing by stages of Avernian descent from conclusions weakly based in principle to assertions definitely unprincipled. Taking the name of psychology in vain has become a national habit; and the vanity of much that comes out of the mills, in which are ground out doctors' dissertations neither slowly nor exceeding fine, is comic in its tragic air of consequence and its actual misdirection.

The flounderings of psychology, and the bickerings of psychologists, damage its prestige. It is not only behaviorists who fail to see forest and trees in proper relation, not only Freudians who run a temperature. No sooner was the meaning of glands for the mental life demonstrated than a glandular psychology reached the conclusion that Harding gave us an adrenal administration and Wilson a pituitary one. The call is clear and loud for leaders of a broader gauge to redeem psychology and give it its rightful place as a guide to human understanding. There are consoling reflections. A science that can endure the ravages of two such distempers as behaviorism and psychoanalysis and recover without permanent disfigurement must have a lusty constitution. Still more, when I dwell upon the rich heritage of supremely significant knowledge which is all entitled to be called psychology, and the vitality of the tasks awaiting the psychologists of the future, the winter of my discontent becomes tinged with the promise of a glorious summer, when all psychologists shall practise the sanity they preach.

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A Planned Economy for Wall Street

CHARLES H. MEYER
Of the New York Bar

I. The Consequences of Laissez-Faire

IF you should come across an afternoon paper of September 3, 1929 and turn to the financial page you would find quotations which, when compared with those now prevailing, would seem quite fantastic. For example, you would discover that U. S. Steel closed at 257, New York Central at 253, and American and Foreign Power at 165. Now, if you should pick up today's paper and look for the current prices of the same stocks you would see Steel quoted at about 30, Central at about 15, and Foreign Power at about 3.

The economic implications of this simple comparison are well known. Fifteen million Americans, or thereabouts, are owners of securities—approximately one investor to every two families in the nation.[1] For the average man of some substance the stock and bond market has an importance second only to his own business. It is the medium through which he endeavors to achieve financial independence. As a result of the recent economic cataclysm the savings of this average man, which over years of accumulation were directed into this reservoir of investment, were largely wiped out. Similar savings have been similarly wiped out, although to a lesser extent, on each prior downswing of the business cycle.

If this situation is faced squarely it must be realized that our present economic system, commonly called "capitalism," probably could not, in the near future, survive the shock of another depression equal in duration and intensity to the present one. It

[1] These are the figures used by Richard Whitney, former president of the New York Stock Exchange, in a radio address delivered on January 30, 1935.

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must also be realized that should capitalism fall, Wall Street, which is part and parcel of that system, would also fall. Although the economy of Wall Street is not the economy of the whole nation the part it plays in our national life is of considerable importance. If, therefore, we can cure the economic ailments of our security markets we can make a substantial contribution to the relief of like ailments in our entire economic structure.

Here arises a problem which should be approached with foresight and intelligence but without recrimination. It is not fair to hold Wall Street responsible for the collapse of our security markets in 1929 and subsequent years. The broker or the banker who wanted to expand the volume of his business was no more at fault than the investor who wanted to profit without effort or the Government which stood by and permitted the enactment of the drama without a directing hand. The responsibility must be placed on the system, or rather the lack of system, inherent in an unplanned and unregulated economy.

II. The New Legislation

The contribution of the New Deal to the solution of the problem is found in two statutes, the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934.

The Securities Act of 1933 covers in general two fields of regulation. First, it regulates public offerings of new securities for the purpose of making available to prospective investors such information as they may reasonably require to enable them to act intelligently. For this purpose it creates two new instruments, one designated a "registration statement" and the other a "prospectus." The former is a compendium of information, which must be filed in Washington, relating to the issuer of the security and the flotation of the issue. The latter is a less detailed summary which must be furnished to each purchaser of any part of the issue. Truthfulness in the registration statement and the prospectus are enforced by civil liability and criminal penalty.

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The second field of regulation of the Securities Act of 1933 covers the sale of all securities, whether new or old, through deceitful or fraudulent means. The Act seeks to prevent such sales not only by civil liability and criminal penalty but also by official investigation and injunction.

The Securities Exchange Act of 1934 reaches much farther in its scope. Its fields of regulation in general are three. The first is the regulation of credit used in the purchase or carrying of securities. The administration of this field of regulation is entrusted to the Federal Reserve Board, which is authorized to limit the credit which may be extended by brokers to customers who buy on margin or by banks or other lenders to buyers of securities or to brokers for the purpose of financing buyers. In order to make the control of the Board still more effective, brokers and dealers in securities are forbidden to borrow except from banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System (or which, if not members, agree to be bound by laws and rules applicable to members) and from other lenders subject to the Board's regulations. The control of the Board over credit in security transactions is thus made complete at two points: first, where the customer obtains credit himself, and second, where the broker or dealer obtains credit in order to extend it to the customer.

The second field of regulation is that of security markets. This field, to the extent that it is not made mandatory by the statute itself, is vested in the Securities and Exchange Commission. Stock exchanges as well as over-the-counter markets are subjected to the Commission's control. Brokers and dealers who transact business in such markets, within specified limitations, are likewise subjected to the Commission's control. Finally, practices which in the past have commonly been employed in security markets have been prohibited in those cases where they are considered manipulative or deceitful, and in those instances where they may perform legitimate functions but may also be subject to abuse they have been placed under the control of the Commission. Among the practices prohibited are manipulation

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and incidental operations, and false and misleading statements. Among those regulated are short sales, puts and calls, market "pegging," and stop loss orders.

The third field of regulation is that of securities traded in publicly. Here the purpose sought is that of making available to investors adequate information regarding securities bought and sold on public markets, and the prevention of an unfair use of confidential information by corporate officials who trade in the securities of their own corporations. This field of regulation bears some analogy to the first field of regulation of the Securities Act of 1933, but it is much broader in that it applies to all securities bought and sold on public markets and not merely to those newly issued. Under the Securities Exchange Act the issuer of each security registered on an exchange must file a statement comparable to the registration statement under the Securities Act, and must also file periodical reports. Officers, directors, and large stockholders of corporations whose securities are registered must make public a statement of their holdings and of changes in their holdings, and must account to their respective corporations for profits they may make from short-term speculation in the corporation's securities.

III. The Basic Conception

With this meager summary of the two statutes let us search for the basic concept underlying them. Much literature relating to these two laws has already been published but most of the discussion has been from a point of view both restricted in scope and partisan in appeal. Sponsors of the legislation have urged its necessity as a cure for the wickedness of Wall Street. Opponents have urged that it would impede recovery and invade inherent rights of property or of privacy. Investment bankers have contended that a brake which is retarding revival has been placed on new financing. Corporate officials have asserted that the affairs of the nation's business will be subjected to a new bureaucracy. Brokers and dealers in securities have apprehended a drastically diminished volume of their business.

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It seems to me that these proponents and opponents of the new regulation cannot see the forest for the trees. In my opinion, out of the kaleidoscopic picture of attack and defense there emerges a basic conception which is the very life and soul of the new legislation. *That conception is that the security markets of our nation are no longer private organizations to be operated primarily in the interests of particular individuals, but have become in fact as well as in law a great public utility—a national social institution—which must be operated for the common good of all.*

This new conception must be regarded as one of the insistent demands of the complex economy of modern society. A system suited to the rugged individualism of the nineteenth century is wholly unadapted to the intricate machinery of present-day life. To those who adopt a long-range point of view it seems apparent that security markets socialized in accordance with this concept not only can perform a great public service but can flourish and expand. If continued under the old *laissez-faire* principles their very existence must be in jeopardy.

IV. The Problem

The problem of converting our security markets into a great instrument of public service is the problem of maintaining the prices of securities at a point which will approximate their intrinsic worth. It is the problem of assuring a purchaser or a seller that he is making a fair bargain without paying a premium or suffering a discount for fanciful hopes or fears. When American and Foreign Power on September 3, 1929 was selling at $165 a share (it sold up to 199 during the same year) under no conceivable valuation was it worth its market quotation. The company had earned only 17 cents a share in 1926, 69 cents in 1927, $1.22 in 1928, and $4.01 in 1929. It had never paid a dividend. Naturally, when people awoke to the realization that the millennium had not arrived they were unwilling to continue paying a bonus for expectations that had no reasonable probability of fulfilment. Stocks declined not only to a point at which

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the surplus over intrinsic value was wiped out but even below that point because hope had been replaced by fear, and the engendering of fear placed the market quotations of stocks at a discount.

The problem of creating a mechanism which makes prices reflect values is to a large extent the problem of creating market stability. The market quotation of a stock may rise or fall as much as 10 or 15 per cent or even more in a single day. Obviously the value of the assets of the company which the stock represents does not increase or decrease to a comparable extent in so short a period of time. The Dow-Jones index of industrial stocks shows an increase from a low of 135 in 1926 to a high of 381 in 1929 and a decline from that point to a low of 41 in 1932. The value of the businesses represented by these stocks quite clearly did not rise 280 per cent in three years or decline 90 per cent in the succeeding three. It is true that upward and downward movements of stocks tend to reflect the periodic upward and downward movements of values generally. These movements, however, are much greater in the case of stocks than they are in the case of other property.

It would seem that the intensity of the cyclical swings in a particular type of property is in direct proportion to the ease with which the property may be acquired and disposed of. The liquidity of securities, as well as the fact that they may be bought and sold in almost minute denominations, has resulted in greater disparities of values than are found in other fields of endeavor. The liquidity of the market should not be disturbed. It is an essential attribute of our national economy. But the resultant instability must be corrected if security markets are to render a social service.

V. The Solution: (1) Control of the Credit Stream

During the year 1929, according to the report on Stock Exchange Practices of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency,[2] of the total number of customers of stock exchange firms

[2] *Report 1455*—73rd Congress, 2nd session.

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who were members of one or more of the nation's twenty-nine principal exchanges, 61.31 per cent were cash customers and 38.69 per cent were margin customers. "As compared with the multitude of persons and corporations holding securities throughout the country," says the report, "the number of margin customers on the organized exchanges was not large, even during the boom years. Yet these margin purchasers, while their speculations were uncontrolled, affected the national economy in a measure immensely disproportionate to their numbers."

This conclusion is fortified, if indeed fortification is necessary, by a statistical comparison of brokers' loans and security prices. Brokers' loans, although not the sole source of credit used in security operations, may be regarded as a fair indication of the extent of the total credit used. A cursory examination of the figures shows that security prices and the volume of brokers' loans have consistently risen and fallen together. In 1926 when, as pointed out above, the Dow-Jones index of industrial stocks was at 135, brokers' loans were, in rough figures, $2,767,000,000. In 1929, when the industrial stock index reached a high of 381, brokers' loans attained the unprecedented total of $8,549,000,000. By 1932, when the industrial stock index had dropped to 41, brokers' loans had shriveled to $241,000,000.

Since a major cause of the inflation of security prices is the excessive use of credit in security operations it seems axiomatic that a major remedy is the regulation of the use of credit for that purpose.

Power conferred by the new legislation on the Federal Reserve Board to control the flow of credit into security markets is almost without limit. The Board may, if it sees fit, impose only negligible restrictions. On the other hand it may, by drastic requirements, practically forbid purchases on margin. It may go even further and, by forcing liquidation of existing margin accounts, reverse the direction of the credit stream in such a way that it flows out of security markets. As conditions demand, it may alter its policy from time to time.

It is interesting at this juncture to consider the action which

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the Board has already taken in response to the authority vested in it. In September 1934 it promulgated regulations, still in force, in which it adopted for the standard of maximum permissible credit the formula suggested in (but not made mandatory by) the Securities Exchange Act.[3] This formula, which is quite complicated, is so worked out that the credit which may be extended on a security diminishes as the price of the security advances. Under the operation of the formula the maximum permissible credit varies from 75 per cent to 55 per cent of the value of the security, depending on how far the security has advanced in price above its low of the preceding three years, or since July 1, 1933. On the basis of market prices prevailing at present[4] the average credit that may be extended is between 70 and 75 per cent. This is fairly liberal and is approximately as much as a prudent broker would ordinarily extend in his own self-interest. Furthermore, a broker is permitted to extend credit temporarily to a customer without any security whatever. In the case of margin transactions this temporary credit may be for three days and in the case of cash transactions for seven days, and in both classes of transactions for longer periods in exceptional cases if permission is obtained from the business conduct committee of an appropriate registered stock exchange. The present rules, moreover, do not require the liquidation of any lawfully extended credit no matter how far the value of the collateral has become impaired.

That these rules are liberal is obvious. That they are wisely so in the light of the prevailing stagnation in security markets, the deflation of security values, and the virtual lack of margin speculation is equally apparent. As a matter of fact even greater liberality verging on a complete absence of restrictions would not be inappropriate at the present time. The functions of economic planning for our security markets should include the en-

[3] The statutory formula does not apply to securities which are "exempted," e.g. bonds of the United States Government and of States and municipalities and their agencies and instrumentalities, on which a broker is permitted to extend credit up to a full 100 per cent of the market value; nor does it extend to non-exempted securities which are not registered on exchanges, on which no credit whatever may be extended.

[4] April 1, 1935.

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couragement of a volume of trading adequate to maintain liquidity at all times; and this encouragement should be provided, in part at least, by inviting the use of credit for security trading up to a reasonable point.

A change in conditions, however, should bring with it a change in the regulation of the credit stream. I have elsewhere advocated the substitution of a flat percentage for maximum permissible margin in place of the complex statutory formula.[5] A single standard would be easier to mold to changing conditions than the more cumbersome one now adopted and its significance would be more generally understood by the public. But whether the present formula is retained or a single standard substituted, it is indispensable to the proper administration of our financial economy that the standard be varied from time to time to meet existing needs. If conditions should, for example, threaten to become comparable to those prevailing in the pre-crash years, the Board could not only lower the percentage of maximum credit as far as might appear to be advisable, even to the point of virtually prohibiting margin purchases, but could go further and compel the partial or the almost complete liquidation of existing margin commitments. It could still further restrict speculative activity by prohibiting the temporary unsecured credit allowed under the present rules. It could put a double lock on the gates by prohibiting loans by banks or other lenders, either to brokers for the purpose of carrying margin commitments or to investors and traders for the purpose of acquiring securities on credit. These extreme measures, of course, should not be adopted except in extreme circumstances. As a matter of fact if they are applied gently as the speed of the current accelerates it may never become necessary to apply them with full force.

VI. The Solution: (2) Regulation of Market Activity

Control of credit will go a long way toward promoting market stability. Conditions may arise, however, in which such control

[5] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, December 15, 1934, p. 3698. In the same article I advocated a simplification of the present margin rules of the Federal Reserve Board, which are too complicated to be understood by anyone except those thoroughly familiar with stock market technique.

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will be unable to do the job alone. Even the complete elimination of margin trading will not necessarily destroy the speculative exuberance of an inflationary era. It is well known that market activity breeds further activity. A bull market, and a bear market as well, nourishes what it is nourished by. Price swings, either up or down, are usually accompanied by an enlarged volume of trading. The encouragement of activity in a stable market and the curtailment of activity when the market shows signs of getting out of hand would help materially in promoting the stability it is so desirable to achieve.

The Securities Exchange Act provides a number of means for the regulation of market activity. Some of these are found in the mandatory provisions of the Act itself. Others arise out of discretionary powers vested in the Securities and Exchange Commission. The Act prohibits market manipulation by pools and individuals. The operations of market traders are ordinarily most extensive when markets are fluctuating most violently. That is the time when stability is most essential. The prohibition against manipulation will tend to limit market activity when limitation is most needed.

By requiring the surrender of profits thereby derived the Act discourages short-term speculation by corporate officers, directors, and large stockholders in securities of their own corporations. Corporate insiders have been most active marketwise when price fluctuations were greatest. Here again market activity will be curtailed when curtailment is desirable.

A substantial portion of the volume of trading on exchanges, probably about 25 per cent in active markets and a much higher percentage in inactive ones, is conducted for the account of exchange members themselves and of their firms.[6] Methods under which this activity may be controlled are provided by the Securities Exchange Act. The Securities and Exchange Commission is granted power to regulate or wholly to prevent floor trad-

[6] According to the report on Stock Exchange Practices of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, in the month of July 1933 (a highly active month) 27 per cent of the trading on the New York Stock Exchange was for the account of members and member firms. The percentage on the New York Curb Exchange was approximately the same, although for the other exchanges in the country it was less, bringing the average for all exchanges down to approximately 25 per cent.

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ing by exchange members for their own account or for discretionary accounts. It is granted power to prevent excessive trading (but not all trading) by exchange members on the exchange but off the floor; to prevent exchange members who deal in odd lots from buying and selling for their own account except so far as may be necessary to carry on an odd lot business; to prevent a specialist from trading for his own account, except to the extent necessary to maintain a fair and orderly market, in the security in which he specializes. The grant of these powers probably had its root in ethical rather than in economic considerations. Primarily they were intended to prohibit misuse of fiduciary obligations. The economic objects, however, while perhaps not so apparent, are nevertheless present. There is no reason why the Commission should not invoke its authority in aid of economic advantages.

The initial exercise of these powers by the Commission has consisted of the formulation of rules which the exchanges of the country have been asked to adopt as part of their own organic law. These initial rules have been directed chiefly to the fiduciary aspect of the problem. Eventually, however, rules may be adopted controlling the economic aspect. Obviously such rules cannot be as pliable as the margin rules nor can they be altered as frequently. Nevertheless it seems feasible to regulate market operations of members for economic purposes, either by a degree of flexibility in rules intended to be relatively stationary or by occasional amendments to meet substantial market changes.

The Securities and Exchange Commission is also authorized to regulate many common market practices, such as short sales, stop loss orders, puts and calls, and market pegging. These practices are related substantially to market activity and can be regulated in a manner calculated to achieve greater market stability.

Under conditions such as exist at the present time it would appear highly desirable to impose no restrictions whatever on trading activity other than those required to enforce proper fiduciary standards. The liquidity of our security markets should be scrupulously guarded. Its loss would be a real economic loss to our industrial structure. Professional traders, if their activities

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are honorably conducted, perform an essential function in maintaining market liquidity. They should not be driven out of business. Nor should the huge plants erected for the maintenance of markets be allowed to disintegrate through non-use. If stock exchanges are not permitted to function they may be abandoned. The need of encouragement to security markets in times such as these should not be overlooked.

VII. The Solution: (3) Flood Lights on Securities

It requires no argument to demonstrate that the appraisal of the value of a security by the composite judgment of the investing and trading public is much more likely to be accurate if based on exact information than if founded on guesswork. In the past a moderate amount of information regarding securities traded in on exchanges and over-the-counter was available through reports published by the issuers. These reports, however, prepared in accordance with the uncontrolled wishes of the respective corporations to which they related, were not always adequate guides to the value of the corporations' securities. Since each corporation used its own method of accounting there was no uniformity and therefore no basis for the comparison of securities of comparable companies. Moreover, those familiar with reports know that they may be used to mislead as well as to enlighten.

Although the general scope of the corporate reports now required is defined in the Acts themselves, the Securities and Exchange Commission is allowed considerable latitude in prescribing detail. It is in a position, therefore, not only to obtain a reasonable degree of uniformity in the reports of corporations of the same class, but also to achieve a nice balance between the requirements of investors and traders for adequate information and the rights of corporations to preserve confidential information from competitors and others who might use it for improper purposes. To date the Commission has prescribed the forms for registration statements and prospectuses for new securities, and for applications of all securities for registration on exchanges.

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Forms for annual and quarterly reports have not yet been published but no doubt will be in the near future. In prescribing these forms the Commission has displayed remarkable ability in striking a proper balance between public and corporate interests. The test of time will undoubtedly bring to light some needed changes, but an efficient administration will see to it that without imposing undue hardship adequate information is always at hand so that intrinsic values can be judged with a fair degree of accuracy.

VIII. The Solution: (4) Elimination of the Security Racketeer

The suppression of polished gentlemen with smooth tongue and convincing manner who sell neatly engraved certificates in mining companies that never turned a shovel full of earth is more than a moral problem. The extent of the activities of these gentlemen has been so vast that the problem is truly an economic one. For years salesmen of fraudulent securities have operated throughout the length and breadth of the land and have mulcted the unsophisticated out of hundreds of millions of dollars. As far back as 1911 the State of Kansas enacted the first "Blue Sky" law in the Union, directed against security salesmen who would sell "even patches of the blue sky." Since then practically all of the states have enacted similar legislation. Some effective work has been done under these state laws but because of the diversity of their nature and their inability to cross state lines they have not been wholly effective. Under powers granted by the new legislation the Securities and Exchange Commission is actively engaged in investigating the fraudulent distribution of securities. In a number of instances it has already taken action. If the Commission can succeed in eradicating even a portion of this evil it will have thoroughly earned its keep.

IX. Will the Plan Succeed?

Our statute books, national, state, and local, are littered with laws. Many are enforced; many ignored. The hope of the framers of the Federal Constitution that our government would

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be one of laws and not of men is impossible of complete fulfilment. No law is self-executing. It must be administered by human beings. In the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 Congress has fashioned an instrument by which our security markets may be molded into a great institution for the public good. The instrument must be used, however, and with intelligence and fearlessness. In order that it may be used effectively the government, the financial fraternity, and the investing public must cooperate.

The Federal Reserve Board and the Securities and Exchange Commission, the two agencies administering the legislation, must possess the alertness to recognize changes in basic conditions and the courage to exercise their functions in a manner required by such changes. They must distinguish between the progress of recovery and the birth of an inflation boom. They must have the strength to resist alike the pressure of private interests for leniency and the clamor of demagogues for stringency. They must at an appropriate time in the cyclical upswing have the courage to narrow the gates and be deaf to accusations that they are retarding prosperity. They must not forget that false prosperity is the inevitable forerunner of economic collapse. Congress also must do its part. It has done so in providing the basic legislation. It must from time to time make such amendments as experience indicates are necessary. It must afford its administrative agencies not only ample powers but also ample financial means to function effectively.

Wall Street should give its complete cooperation with the realization that the legislation, if soundly administered, cannot help but redound to its advantage in the long run. Those who complain that margin regulations and restrictions on pool operations, activities of insiders, and transactions by exchange members will diminish the volume of the business of brokers fail to consider the long-range point of view. The increase of the confidence of the public in security markets, the safeguarding of the savings of customers against the depredation of financial panics, the diversion into legitimate markets of funds heretofore sac-

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rificed to security racketeers, should balance the loss of business arising from the elimination of unsound practices and at the same time should create the satisfaction that Wall Street's gain is not the public's loss. The normal investment demands of the richest nation in history should be more than ample to support the market facilities now existing. The growth of that nation, both in point of population and in point of wealth, should provide a medium for a healthy growth of the present facilities and an expansion of their usefulness, particularly if the expansion is founded on a sound base. Should this prediction be unfulfilled, after a fair test, an increase in commission rates would compensate brokers for a diminished volume of business. Such an increase should be cheerfully borne by the public as fair payment for the added protection it receives.

Investors and traders should cooperate by adopting an altered attitude towards security markets. They should realize that the chief function of these markets is the maintenance of a medium of investment and not the provision of a gambling house which will enable them to get rich quickly. This does not mean that the public should not purchase securities for profit, and by helping to build the economic structure of the nation share in the growth of its prosperity. It does mean, however, that efforts to make a quick turn on an unsubstantiated tip or rumor, or the taking of a flyer on inadequate information or a hunch, should play no part in the investment policy of our people. The gaining of this objective is a matter of education and no doubt will take time. But experienced investors, by setting an example for their less sophisticated fellows, can do much to bring about a more wholesome attitude than existed during the speculative spree of 1928 and 1929.

The national characteristics of the American people as well as their history, their traditions, and their material development are wholly different from those of other nations which recently have drastically altered their economic edifices. Nevertheless we must not overlook the fact that if we relinquish American standards of social justice we may have impressed upon us a radical

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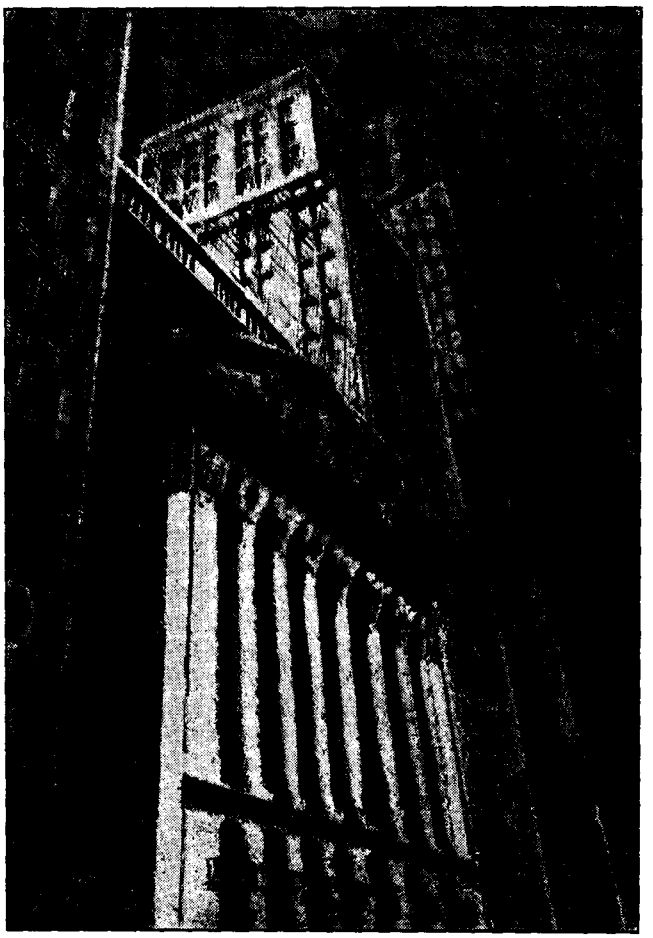
economic system wholly foreign to our own ideals. In order to avoid such a consequence the will to maintain just standards must be present, and in the case of security markets it must be present not only in the Government but also in Wall Street and in the public. This is a prerequisite to the success of the newly planned economy.



By Charles H. Meyer

THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

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Gustave Lanson

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IN Professor Gustave Lanson, who died recently in Paris, France lost not only her ablest literary scholar but a personality whose strong influence permeated the French University system from the Sorbonne to the smallest college town. A man of modest and retiring habits whom the French Academy failed to receive among its members, he never attained to the fame of Sainte-Beuve, Taine, and Brunetière, who preceded him in his field; but, when translated into facts, the bearing of his philosophy and teaching on French culture and scholarship will possibly be found more important than anything they achieved.

Professor Lanson was, in fact, the creator in France of the science of literary history. Before him there was no such thing. Sainte-Beuve never indulged in anything rigidly scientific; Taine and Brunetière did not exactly conceive literary history as an independent discipline but rather as an annex to psychology and history which in turn borrowed from the physical and natural sciences their procedure and vocabulary. It remained for M. Lanson to build literary history as an autonomous science, on a par with all others, collaborating with them, using them as its auxiliaries, but having a technique of its own and an original purpose, which was not primarily one of artistic enjoyment but of painstaking research, a careful, dispassionate approach to the texts themselves and to all the circumstantial evidence which could explain their genesis and meaning: the author's life, times and surroundings; the source material, including actual readings and mere reminiscences; the development of the work, as illustrated by manuscripts and editions. It may readily be seen that the fundamental principle of Professor Lanson's method did not

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imply, as was too often superficially said, a divorce between literary history and literary criticism, but the postponement of the latter to the time when literary history would rest on a foundation of facts strong enough to warrant a reasonable appreciation of the true value and importance of the masterpieces of the past. While waiting for this final elucidation any kind of critical opinion would have to be regarded as entirely provisional.

Such a doctrine was, after all, only the application to literary history of the broad criteria evolved long ago by Descartes for the conduct of all sciences: to accept nothing as true which did not appear evidently to be so; to avoid haste and prejudice; to divide all problems into as many little particles as possible, and to be sure, when putting the ensemble back into its original shape, not to miss anything—that is to say, to make complete classifications and repertories. There is, however, emphasized in M. Lanson's system an element which was only implicit in the larger Cartesian principles, and that is the element of time. Much time will and must elapse between the original analyses on the one hand and the final synthesis on the other. This has to be so simply because the task of dividing, scrutinizing and enumerating cannot possibly belong to a single man, not even to a dozen men, but to many generations. Literary history, in M. Lanson's own words, becomes "a collective undertaking," a work of patience, a gigantic puzzle the pieces of which will not be reassembled for years to come. Thus Professor Lanson is responsible to no small extent for the standardization of literary research today: for scholars working singly or in teams and turning out monographs, each one supposed to supplement the other and to clear up a specific subject.

True enough, this is a modest view so far as individual efforts are concerned, and by confining himself mostly to the small and arid tasks of a pioneer in a hitherto unexplored field Professor Lanson gave a personal example of the intellectual humility which he advocated. From this point of view it is not so very much his widely known *History of French Literature* which counts, although it served the purpose of showing M. Lanson's

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background of universal knowledge and his exceptional ability in grasping huge, synthetic problems when he cared to do so; or so very much his general studies on Bossuet, Voltaire and others, which were primarily intended for vulgarization; as, first of all, his *Bibliographical Manual of French Literature*, destined to be the cornerstone of the newly created science, and then his innumerable, invaluable contributions on varied but specialized subjects the list of which covers, in the *Mélanges* offered to him in 1922 by his colleagues and friends, more than twenty pages in octavo.

It is obvious, however, that Professor Lanson's view and hope of a big final synthesis of literary history are integral parts of the 19th century scientific optimism, and especially of Taine's and Renan's faith in the ultimate constitution of a body of facts, all perfectly determined and controllable. Renan's famous book *On the Future of Science* was written in 1848, about ten years before M. Lanson's birth, and, despite the fact that it remained unpublished until 1890, it contained the creed of the epoch. The scientist was supposed to devote his life to the establishment of "small facts" and each new fact, once firmly riveted to the chain of knowledge, would mean an advance toward Enlightenment and Civilization.

This belief of Renan's—or was it something in the atmosphere which Renan only crystallized—impregnated slowly not only the sciences, not only literary history, but politics as well. It cannot be dissociated from the pacifistic, humanitarian, materialistic ideals of the French Second Republic, also born in 1848, or of the Second Empire and of the Third Republic, at least in the pre-War era. This reaction away from the spiritual and towards positivism created a religion of its own—a religion of Progress. A bridge was thus established which connected, above Romanticism and the Restoration, the revolutionary principles of 1789 and the new philosophy of government. M. Lanson, in this respect, followed the trend of the times. He, who originally had rejected the epithet "Voltairian," showed a growing interest in Voltaire and in the 18th century at large,

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making it the real center for all his studies; and he, who had first condemned the excesses of the French Revolution, came more and more to appreciate its "salutary consequences." In this sense it may be said that although the government was slow in bestowing honors on M. Lanson (it is the habit of governments to be ungrateful) and although he never engaged in active politics, his teaching reflected the political and philosophical spirit of the age and he molded whatever he could mold of the French university after the most orthodox pattern.

M. Lanson's extensive and lasting influence cannot be ascribed to his scholarly accomplishments alone or indeed to any kind of occult dictatorship which he would exert from behind the scene. His career was exceptionally rapid, but regular, with a short passage at the court of Russia (where for a while he taught the czarevitch, who was to be the ill-fated Nicholas II) its only unusual feature. As a professor in the Sorbonne he had none of the qualities of a brilliant orator. He was a man of diminutive stature, his speech was monotonous, his method devoid of any rhetorical effects. It must be recognized in the last analysis that he owed his power to an undefinable magnetism which attracted to him a host of faithful and fervent followers. This even transcended his qualities of intelligence and constituted his main superiority over his predecessors, with the possible, though doubtful, exception of Taine. Sainte-Beuve was too self-seeking, Renan too capricious, Brunetière too unapproachable to have real disciples. Professor Lanson, on the contrary, from about 1895 until the World War had a *de facto* monopoly on the hearts and minds of his students, something which reminds one of those masters of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance who stood as symbols and dispensed the sacred and unquestionable truth. It is in this way that all the French theses on literary subjects were, for twenty years or more, entirely "Lansonian" in their method and spirit; all the French Universities were filled with a phalanx of brilliant men who had all been formed at the Lanson school; and these, in turn, sent out to the secondary institutions of the country an army of professors who interpreted texts to their pupils in

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strict accordance with the Lanson principles. Consequently every French boy who brought back home his "bachelor's degree" was himself a little bit "Lansonian," sometimes without knowing it.

The War proved to be the turning point. Professor Lanson's only son was killed on the battlefield in Northern France and M. Lanson never fully recovered from this cruel blow. From then on it looked as if Destiny had brutally removed the main motive that he had to keep in touch with youth and to keep young himself. His appointment in 1920 to the directorship of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, which is a nursery of future professors and scholars and of which he was an alumnus, might have provided a climax to his personal prestige and influence. Such was not the case, in spite of the fact that M. Lanson proved himself a successful administrator—as he had done in other circumstances, and especially when he reorganized the University of Strasbourg right after the armistice. I had the sad privilege of being a student there when M. Lanson's chief administrative problem, owing to the depreciation of the franc and to the paucity of governmental credits, was to decide which of the two big meals he would have to suppress. He did not suppress any, however, and managed to supply abundant, if not choice, food to two hundred hungry young men engaged in a strenuous kind of study; but in contrast to the situation under Fustel de Coulanges and Georges Perrot (among others), who preceded him in the directorial chair, at no time did any real contact exist between him and the Ecole Normale students. Considering the very worthy motives which led to his aloofness it would be unfair to insist on this except as it helps to explain a definite decline of the Lanson influence.

Indeed this would have been the time, if ever, to keep the Lanson philosophy and methods intact against a growing, though disorganized, opposition. This is no place and no time to discuss at length the somewhat contradictory tendencies of a reaction which is still in the formative stage and to which the passing of M. Lanson may give, in the future, a new impetus. There is, however, a common ground for all these criticisms—an impa-

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tience with the slow, humble, analytic process of literary science under M. Lanson's principles. The men who came back from the War and whose life had been constantly hanging on a thread had learned how to appreciate more this God-given and precarious present, and were less willing to sacrifice it for remote ideals and for the benefit of the great-grandchildren of their grandchildren. They had less faith in science and civilization, which had not prevented and even had caused the horrors of the War, and they had more faith in themselves. They saw less reason to spend their lives bent over forgotten documents, unpublished archives, second- and third-rate authors, and other incidentals which literary history had come to study for their own sakes and under whose dust it was becoming gradually buried. A sense of what one might call *the immediate* suddenly made itself felt: immediate need for æsthetic enjoyment and open criticism; immediate need for action, which would eventually imply a partial renouncement of scientific objectivity. Typical of this new state of mind is a recent article by an alumnus of the Ecole Normale Supérieure in which he reminds young Frenchmen of the cultured class that they have a part to play; that they will have to defend their studies and their very right to exist against possible attacks; that the best way to do so is to adapt themselves, and that, if they wait too long, "it will probably be too late for them to avoid the destinies which are being prepared today."

There is no doubt, however, that the main lines of M. Lanson's method will be preserved and that his fundamental lesson of scruple and intellectual probity will never be forgotten. Once his doctrine has been cleared of all the exaggerations attached to it—not so very much by himself, who managed throughout to keep a strong humanistic sense, but rather by some indiscreet followers—it will appear as a monument of conscience and sound judgment, as an essential step in the continuous tradition of French education and learning, which bears and always will bear Professor Lanson's name.

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Furious Futility in Crime Treatment

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IN perhaps no other field in the world does society continue to follow custom and precedent with such unthinking insistence as in the administration of the criminal law. Repeated criticism of its vagaries, bitter denunciation of its injustices, and voluminous suggestions for its improvement have been followed by no commensurate result. With regard to the treatment of the offender (if we can use the word "treatment" with its connotations of reasonableness and orderliness) we are pursuing the same inefficient methods and the same wasteful and futile practices followed since the beginning of the 17th century when England first began, as a measure of punishment, to sentence prisoners to confinement in a penal institution. Every school boy knows of course that we adopted practically in its entirety the methods pursued by the English in the administration of their criminal law. Since our earliest history, consequently, we have been using confinement in a penal institution as a means of punishment, or "deterrence," or "reform," according to the point of view of the person discussing it.

Prior to this use of penal institutions they had been used only for holding an alleged offender safely while he was waiting trial —in other words, while the case was being prepared against him. The deterrent power of the law was in the executioner, the death penalty being given for more than two hundred offenses. If this was considered too severe there were mutilation, branding, and the ever-present whip. It took many long years to show the English that flogging was not the great re-maker of men it was assumed to be. Nor was the gallows the great deterrent for others. At the very time when hanging was a daily occurrence and flogging a routine matter there was more crime in England than at

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any period in its history. It was not safe for a woman to go on the streets in London alone even in daylight and no man if he could possibly avoid it traveled from one town to another without outriders or an entourage to protect him.

It is taking equally long, if not indeed longer, to prove to us that imprisonment for short terms gives little protection to society and that it neither punishes, reforms, nor deters the comparatively trivial offender against whom it is invoked. Yet for hundreds of years we have continued to use this futile, wasteful, and very often cruel makeshift in the fatuous belief that in some way it is beneficial either to the prisoner or to society.

It is quite true that in some respects at least little more has been accomplished by long sentences than by short ones. But there is this very material difference: first, that in the case of long terms the public *is* protected from a potential, and very often an actual, menace for long periods of time; and second, if there is anything at all in the theory that a prison reforms some of its inmates, then at least the prison has them long enough for this intangible element to get in its work. The first, naturally, is not true in the case of the short-term prisoner. The second falls to the ground because in the matter of protecting society from the average trivial offender the question arises, "protect it from what?" The fact that a man happens to be arrested in a particular instance for a trivial offense does not necessarily mean he is not a menace. But speaking in the large, the vast majority of those sentenced to short terms are no menace at all to society. As to those who are, society is "protected" only for short periods.

No one who has not had close contact with the criminal problem, either officially or otherwise, can have any idea of the incredible number of men and women sentenced every year to a penal institution for short periods ranging from one or two days to two or three months. Although there is no central clearing house for criminal statistics in the United States and no country-wide figures are available, one can say positively, on the basis of statistics of certain communities where definite figures *are* obtainable, that the number of such short-term prisoners will

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run into the hundreds of thousands every year. In a study I made three or four years ago I found that in a period of one year approximately 15,000 men and women had been sentenced in New York City alone to periods of ten days or less and 5000 of these had been sentenced to five days or less. Other communities commit an extraordinary number of men and women to ten days or less for being drunk and disorderly, and many more for similar short terms for various other forms of disorderly conduct. Any one who has sat in a police or lower court, particularly on a Monday morning, has witnessed the monotonous, routine, perfunctory, and utterly uninterested regularity with which the judge imposes sentences of this nature. Occasionally he varies them with a 60 or 90 day sentence. Every day or two in every large city in the country numerous prison vans are engaged in transporting to local penal institutions hundreds of these men and women, helpless victims of a senseless and useless system.

Let us pause to assay the amount of money and energy expended in the operation of this system. First, there is the vast amount of work the police must do; then that which the district attorney or his assistant must perform in presenting these trivial cases, plus the equal amount of time and energy of the judge and the attachés of the court; finally there follows the necessary transportation of these prisoners to the institutions to which they have been sentenced. In the larger cities particularly this reaches an enormous volume because the local penal institution is often located a considerable distance from the court. Very often this necessary transportation is increased by the delay tactics of the defendant's lawyer who has the case continued from time to time for the purpose of "wearing out" the other side. On each occasion the defendant must be taken to and from the court. In an investigation I made in New York I found that in hundreds of instances prisoners were carried in prison vans as much as 50 to 100 miles through the city's streets before they finally reached the institution where they were to serve a ridiculously short term. Similar situations exist in other cities, while in smaller communities there is a proportionately great transportation.

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The amount of work which follows after the prisoner reaches the prison depends upon the kind of institution it is. If it is a county jail he is searched, and "booked" by having his name, address, age, offense of which convicted, name of judge, length of sentence, and other facts entered in a record. If, however, he goes to a large institution like a local penitentiary, workhouse, or house of correction, he must be "booked," searched, given a detailed receipt for his money and any valuables he may have, and then bathed, shaved, examined by the doctor, "dressed in" (that is, given a complete outfit of prison clothes) and then interviewed by the warden, assigned to a cell and assigned to a job if there is any work for him to do and if he is in a physical condition to do it. At the end of a few days or weeks he must be "dressed out," bathed, shaved, be given his valuables for which he signs a receipt and then usually be escorted off the prison grounds. The tremendous amount of time and energy expended in all this work is too obvious to require further comment. The amount of money it costs would be appalling even if a modicum of good were accomplished by it. It is doubly appalling when its futility is considered.

Now, there can be only four reasons why any civilized community should send a man to a penal institution:

1. To protect society from his depredations
2. To punish him
3. To reform him
4. To deter him from committing further offenses or to deter others who might be inclined to commit them

Obviously if none of these reasons exist a community which continues to send men to prison is squandering its financial resources and dissipating the time and energy of its police department and of its court, prosecuting, and prison officials. Are any of these reasons present in the case of short-term sentences?

First, there is the protection of the community. Any prison official who comes into contact with the mass of these short-term

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prisoners can testify to how harmless and inoffensive the vast majority of them are. They consist in the main of those convicted of vagrancy and various other forms of disorderly conduct, such as fighting, gambling, being intoxicated on the street, disturbing the peace by singing or yelling, and similar trivial offenses. Over a period of more than twenty-five years I have seen thousands of them come and go in the various penal institutions of the country. On the basis of this experience and on the testimony of numerous prison and court officials of long experience I can say that at a conservative estimate fully 98 per cent of them are not the slightest menace to the life or property of even the most timid citizen. There is no more reason why friendless men and women or men and women without money or influence should be sent to jail for intoxication than men and women who happen to be more fortunately placed. If they are making a nuisance of themselves or are so hopelessly drunk that they may subject themselves to injury they should be sent to a hospital to be "sobered up" and not to a penal institution. After they are sobered they should be discharged and let alone. If they go out and get drunk all over again it is regrettable but it is just exactly what chronic alcoholics do who happen to be placed in a little higher stratum of society.

If we assume for the sake of argument that these "d and d's" as well as other types of trivial offenders who now go to prison for short terms should do so because they actually *are* a menace to society, how can we square this with reason and common sense when we realize that whether he goes to jail or not depends on whether or not he happens to have enough money at the time of his arrest to pay a fine. It is the almost invariable practice of the lower courts in this country to give a potential short-term prisoner the option of paying a fine or being sentenced. If he can pay the fine he goes out on the street and continues to be a "menace," even though the money to pay the fine may have been obtained by begging, the very offense with which he happens to be charged. If he does not have the money he stops being a "menace" for a few days or weeks. In order to be consistent we

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should have to hold that all of these trivial offenders be given jail sentences and that there be no fine alternative.

The matter of whether or not these men and women actually are a menace from which society should be protected must remain to some extent a matter of opinion. But there is some rather convincing proof in the prison records. These disclose innumerable cases in which the same prisoners have come to the institution on repeated short sentences over a period of many years. With few exceptions none of these prisoners has ever been convicted of other than a comparatively trivial offense. Out of thousands upon thousands of these convictions one will often find not one case in which the record is varied by an offense of such a grave nature as to indicate that the prisoner is in reality a menace to the community. The testimony of policemen on whose "beats" these offenders live and who therefore see them from day to day, as well as the testimony of those officials who have the most intimate contact with them, confirms this record. In the light of this documentary evidence and of the practically unanimous opinion of those best qualified by experience to express such an opinion one must consider as demolished any theory that these men must be sent to prison in order to protect society.

The second theory is that of punishment. The very word "punishment" implies something which must be unpleasant to the recipient. A chance to observe many of these men and women as they pour in an endless, never-ceasing stream into the penal institutions of the United States demolishes this argument. Take the drunk and disorderlies. For the most part they are pathetic libels on the human race, filthy, lazy, stupefied with liquor, apathetic, and indifferent. Many have physical, mental, or emotional defects as a result of which they are no more responsible for being chronic inebriates than they are for the contour of their heads. They are unstable and shiftless and incapable of any kind of sustained physical or mental application. They come in the main from the most poverty-stricken homes, from cheap and dirty lodging houses, from park benches, from abandoned stables, from crannies and crevices of the city's piers and docks,

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and from other unbelievable and obscure places. In many cases a short term of confinement in a local jail or workhouse is a positive relief, so much so indeed that it is not at all unusual for men to commit a misdemeanor deliberately, particularly during the colder months, in order to be sent to jail. To a man who has frequented the bread line and stood in long, straggling columns in bitter weather for hours at a time, who has lived on such scraps as he can find in garbage cans, who has slept in packing cases, in the subway, or in doorways on cold winter nights, a penal institution with its warmth and its food at regular intervals, bad though it may be, comes as a positive blessing. There are some of course who are used to better things to whom a term in a penal institution is actually a punishment, but they are a very small percentage indeed. And here we must treat of the mass and not of the exceptions. Thus the second theory collapses upon analysis. To the vast majority of these short-term prisoners jail is no punishment. We must search further for some reason to justify society's method of dealing with these offenders.

There is the theory of reform. But if there is anything at all conducive to reform in the method of treating these prisoners in the institutions to which they are sent it is certainly not visible to the naked eye. The majority of them, probably as many as 75 or 80 per cent, are sent to county jails. There are approximately 3500 of these institutions in the United States, ranging from the small ones which are little more than a cage housing a daily average of five or six prisoners through the many where from 10 to 70 or 80 are confined, up to the large institutions like the Douglas County Jail in Omaha, The Tarrant County Jail in Fort Worth, Texas, or the Cook County Jail in Chicago where anywhere from 100 to 700 or 800 constitute a daily average. Comparatively few of the counties in the United States, particularly the smaller ones, have local county workhouses or houses of correction to which prisoners under sentence for short terms may be sent. Those that do not have such institutions use their jails both for prisoners waiting trial for *all* offenses and those convicted of misdemeanors and serving comparatively short

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terms, seldom more than a few months. There are seven or eight times as many county jails in the United States as all other types of penal institutions put together, and it is to these that the majority of the short-term offenders in the United States are sent to be "reformed," if we assume for the moment that their reform is society's object in sentencing them.

During the approximately ten years in which I was Inspector of Prisons for the United States Government I visited in the course of my duties many hundreds of these institutions throughout the United States, Alaska, and Porto Rico, some of them over and over again. Here are some of the conditions that exist and have existed for years in the places in which these men and women are sent to be reformed. In the first place, fully 2500 of these jails are unbelievably filthy. Let me quote from an official report I made to the Federal Department of Justice:

> The jail here consists of a dirty, dilapidated, two-story structure in the rear of the court-house. The court-house itself is not any too well kept, but alongside the jail it seems a model of cleanliness. The jail consists of two tiers or "ranges" of cells facing a common corridor. The hammocks on which the prisoners sleep are never cleaned, as I have visited this jail on seven or eight occasions and have always found them covered with filth. The jail crawls with vermin. And although it is only supposed to accommodate about forty prisoners, there have been occasions when from seventy-five to one hundred Federal prisoners, to say nothing of a considerable number of State inmates, were packed in this foul cage. At such times the intense heat in this section of the country, added to the usual condition of the institution, combines to produce such an odor as can neither be imagined nor described. Four or five hammocks are then swung in one cell, which otherwise uncomfortably accommodates two. Even packing the prisoners in the cells as closely as they can be packed does not give sufficient room. Many of the prisoners sleep on top of the cell block, lying helter-skelter on the hard steel.
>
> As in the great majority of jails throughout the United States no effort whatever is made to separate the sick from the well. When it is considered that a very large percentage of prisoners is suffering from venereal disease, many of the cases being in an infectious stage, that they use common drinking cups, sleep on unwashed bedding used pos-

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sibly by a hundred other prisoners, both sick and well, have common toilet facilities, lack a proper amount of cubic air space, and are by virtue of this over-crowding thrown in the closest possible contact, the amount of disease which is thus communicated must be staggering.

The average number of tuberculosis cases in this state is considerably greater than in practically any state in the Union, due to the fact that so many patients go there to be cured. A considerable percentage of those in jail is suffering with tuberculosis. But as with other diseased prisoners, no attempt whatever is made to segregate them from the healthy and here, living in filth, with little fresh air and much overcrowding, they exist amid conditions which are ideal not only for the quick progress of the disease in themselves, but also, which is far worse, for spreading it to others who had up until then escaped it. In fact, the jail here is typical of the fact that, of all public institutions, jails alone seem to be immune from any considerations of hygiene.

With slight modifications here and there this will apply to at least 2500 of the 3500 county jails in the United States, and probably to a very much larger number. In some of the states of the Union in which there are as many as 40 or 60 jails there are not more than three which from the standpoint of cleanliness and sanitation are fit to house a self-respecting hog. Many of them, moreover, are frightfully overcrowded. I have on numerous occasions seen a daily average of from 80 to 100 persons in jails built to accommodate 25 to 30. The majority of these institutions are from 40 to 100 years old, but notwithstanding the growth of population and the great increase in the number of prisoners they are still being used.

Then there is the lack of segregation. A prisoner of a higher class than the average who desires a little privacy and a fair measure of decency in living gets neither when he goes to jail. Usually there is no segregation whatever other than that of the sexes. Youths and young men are thrown into the closest possible contact, being out in a small common corridor or "bull-pen" during the day. Almost invariably jails are dominated by the most vicious and depraved characters. These "set the tone" of the institution and dominate by sheer force of might. In many jails there is a "kangaroo court," an organization among

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the prisoners ostensibly created to maintain discipline and keep the jail in a clean condition, but actually to levy tribute on the weak and defenseless. Every such institution of course has its quota of inverts and perverts and many normally heterosexual prisoners are forced into homosexuality and even given loathsome venereal diseases because they are afraid to resist. There is no one to whom a tormented inmate may complain because in many instances the "kangaroo court" has either the passive acquiescence or the actual support of the sheriff or jailer. Those officials are usually politicians, often of a very low type, who are engaged in farming or some other business and give the jail as little attention as they can and still draw their salaries.

Pernicious, too, is the fee system of feeding under which the sheriff is allowed a certain amount per day for each prisoner in the jail with the privilege of putting into his own pocket anything he does not spend. A more vicious system it would be impossible to devise—that of one man's lining his own pockets in the same ratio as the amount of food he may withhold from another. Some county sheriffs make large sums of money through this legally sanctioned system of exploitation.

There are still other conditions in these iniquitous pesthouses which in weighing the possibility of reforming those confined in them must be taken into consideration. Outstanding is that of idleness. Out of these 3500 cradles of crime there are not 25 with work for the prisoners to do. Many jails are so constructed as to make it impossible to provide work for the prisoners even if the officials were so inclined, which they are not. There are a variety of reasons for this, such as the amount of space required, which most jails do not have, restrictive state laws concerning prison labor or prison-made goods, the antagonism of labor unions, the difficulty of obtaining work that can be quickly learned by unskilled men, and the lack of demand for goods of a type which can be made in small county jails. With no work a prisoner stagnates mentally and physically. As an old deputy marshal expressed it to me when talking about a prisoner out of whom he was trying to force a confession: "I'll let him

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lie in jail a little while. Jails sure do take the vinegar out of 'em."

But we have not yet finished with the many features of county jails which are so conducive to reform. Not one jail in 100 gives the prisoners any time outdoors. No matter how long they are confined they get no fresh air whatever, no exercise or recreation. They spend their time lounging in the "bull-pen" reading trashy and lurid magazines and talking about sex and crime. They have no contact whatever with the outside world. There is not one per cent of the communities in the United States where the citizens take the slightest interest in their local jail or in the men or women in it. I have many times seen boys of 14, 15, and 16 in jail with the most hardened and depraved characters for several weeks and months at a time, and during that entire period not a single human being, including their own relatives, ever visited them. In some of the jails, particularly in the larger city ones, narcotics are constantly smuggled in. The young and as yet unhardened prisoner may learn from addicts the delights of "doing your bit on a pill" at the very time when, due to the depression of spirits incidental to his confinement, he is most susceptible to the lure of anything which will help to lift even temporarily the gloomy and forgotten feeling pressing upon him.

If we assume, therefore, that prisoners are sent to these institutions for short terms to be reformed we must, in the light of these facts, reject this theory also. To one who knows the conditions existing in these filthy, reeking dens, the mere suggestion of the possibility of reform forces a wry smile, close to tears.

The remaining minority of short term prisoners who do not go to county jails are sentenced to a reformatory, workhouse, house of correction, or some similar institution. Usually these are cleaner and better in many respects than the county jails, but they have nothing in their set-up or curriculum which would tend to instill even a small fraction of reform into even the most amenable and susceptible inmate. Consequently we must discard as to these institutions also the theory that short-term prisoners are sent to them to be made into better men and women.

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There remains only one other theory for sending these men and women to prison and that is that the incarceration will deter them from offending again or will deter others hitherto law-abiding who might be inclined to so offend. But as to the first, the statistics of any large penal institution in which such prisoners are confined indicate with mute impressiveness just how much these prisoners are deterred by their incarceration. The records of a large city in the United States showed that of 19,000 prisoners going into its penal institutions during one year, most of whom were sentenced to short terms, *over 50 per cent had served two or more terms for similar trivial offenses.* Several thousand had served three terms, almost 1000 had served four terms, and a large percentage of the remainder had served from five to as many as 64 and 65 terms. These figures are typical and approximate those of every penal institution in the United States where similar classes of prisoners are confined. It must be remembered that for every time these men and women were caught they had probably committed numerous trivial offenses and had not been detected. It must also be borne in mind that in between these terms there were arrests when the misdemeanants paid their fines and thus purged themselves of being a "menace" to the community.

Thus the final theory that these men and women are sent to jail because a jail sentence deters them from again committing an offense collapses into nothingness. There is always a possibility that they might have committed still more offenses if they had not been so deterred. This possibility is any one's guess. So also is the deterrent effect on those who do not commit offenses that would result in these short terms. This is too nebulous and intangible to justify argument on either side.

In the light of the facts here presented it seems undeniable that, with a few negligible exceptions, sending men and women to a penal institution for short terms neither punishes, reforms, nor deters the offender, nor does it protect society, the latter for the simple reason that there is no real menace or danger from which society needs to be protected. The only reason apparently

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why our courts continue to grind out this human grist is that it has always been ground since the system of incarcerating people for offenses first began several hundred years ago. If we can accomplish as much by keeping people out of jail as by putting them in we have actually accomplished more than as much because we shall be saving our police, prosecuting, and prison officials an enormous amount of trivial work, and shall at the same time also be saving a colossal amount of money. This time, energy, and money can be used to far more advantage in detecting, prosecuting, and imprisoning those who commit really serious crimes and are in reality a menace to the community. If the judge feels that the man before him is a menace, then he is recreant to the obligations of his office if he either gives the prisoner the alternative of a fine or sentences him to a term of a few days or weeks in a penal institution.

What then should be done with these trivial offenders? With an extraordinary number of them, nothing. The arrest should not have been made in the first place. The best policeman is one who keeps the finest order on his beat and not the one who makes the most arrests. If the police were trained to view their duties in this light there would be an enormous diminution in the number of arrests, without the slightest increase in disorder. Instead of arresting them the policeman could stop street fighters and send them on their way. He could disperse men engaged in a crap game instead of taking them to the station house. He could see that a "drunk" who is a menace to himself or a nuisance to others was taken to his home if he happened to know the man or to a hospital to be sobered up if he did not. He could keep "panhandlers" on the move and "throw a scare" into them if he felt that it was necessary, although as a matter of actual fact the "panhandling" problem is grossly exaggerated. The average man is not approached by a panhandler more than once or twice a week at the most and even when he is it does no particular harm unless the panhandler happens to be insulting or abusive, which very few of them are. And if someone should advance the argument that panhandling would increase unless panhan-

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dlers were deterred by being sent to jail, the answer is, as has been shown, that they are not so deterred.

If, however, for any of the above, or for other trivial offenses, the policeman feels an arrest should be made, and the court feels that something should be done with the defendant although in his opinion a comparatively long term is not justified, may I then suggest as I have in previous articles, one of the following ways of handling the case:

1. By reprimand from the bench.
2. By making the defendant report daily for a specified period to the officer in charge of the police station nearest his home, or the place of his arrest. This will be an inconvenience to him, particularly if he is working and has to report at night, during his free time, and will be just as effective in all probability as sending him to jail. It will also save the community the cost of his maintenance.
3. By fine. This should be imposed, however, only in those cases where the defendant has sufficient money on his person to pay it, or has a steady source of income. If he has a source of income and not sufficient on his person to pay it, he should be permitted to pay it in installments, even very small installments of as little as fifty cents or a dollar if necessary.
4. By sentencing the defendant, particularly the one who has a job during the day, to spend his nights from about 7.30 P.M. to 6 A.M. for a period of at least thirty nights, in jail. This will save his job if he has one, take away his free time which every man prizes the most, save the community the cost of his food, and render unnecessary his transportation in a prison van. This sentence can also be given those who, although able, deliberately refuse to pay their fine, and those who fail to report to the police station as instructed.

If some of these methods fail to have the desired effect the same can be said of short terms. And we have still accomplished more in that we have saved the time of our prison officials and the costly maintenance of these men and women.

Let us therefore end the furious futility involved in the handling of these minor offenders. With few exceptions the persons making up the army of short termers come from the underprivileged classes in society. A change which would spread em-

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ployment, with security for all those willing to work, reasonably might eliminate a great number of these offenders. A totally different social system would surely take care of the prostitutes, at least in a large measure. It would eliminate many vagrants and certainly those who come into conflict with the law because they are unemployed and have no resources. Whether such a change would affect drunkenness cannot be foreseen. Certainly it would hardly obliterate homosexuality, for which many persons are sentenced for short terms. The entire history of short-term sentences going back over a period of two or three hundred years shows plainly, for those who care to read the lesson, that nothing whatever is accomplished by them. Let us conserve our time, our energy, and our money and use them where they will bring a commensurate result—in the detection, conviction, and sentencing to long terms of the really dangerous criminals, the racketeers, the kidnappers, the burglars, the crooked bankers, the stock investment swindlers, and others of this type who are the real enemies of society.

Rise and Fall of Cartoon Symbols

WILLIAM MURRELL

"As Time adds much to the sacredness of Symbols, so likewise in his progress he at length defaces, or even desecrates them; and Symbols, like all terrestrial Garments, wax old." *Sartor Resartus*

THOSE who hold that the Republican Elephant, the Democratic Donkey, and the Tammany Tiger are permanent features in the political circus take but a myopic view of our history, brief though it be. We had politics and cartoons before any of these symbols was conceived and we may confidently expect the future will bring forth other singular

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graphic figurations born of the exigencies of the times and the imagination of the artist.

A backward glance over our cartoon history reveals many amusing and a few quite amazing migrations and mutations. In Colonial days, however, simple emblems and symbols and more or less complex allegories were the raw materials of the early American cartoonist. A touch of exaggeration added here, a touch of the incongruous there, and that which began as solemn admonition rapidly developed into ridicule and burlesque. No one will be surprised to learn that the many-sided Franklin was the first American to perceive and make use of the power of symbols for propaganda. The famous snake-device, *Join or Die*, appeared in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 9, 1754. In this political emblem the snake is divided into eight segments each of which bears the initial of one of the Colonies, and the legend "Join or Die" had the force of what we should now call a slogan. It was first used against the depredations of the French and the Indians, was reproduced in newspapers in Boston and New York, was later revived during the agitation against the Stamp Act in 1765, and was again used throughout the Revolutionary War. In 1774 Isaiah Thomas' *Massachusetts Spy* printed across the whole width of the front page an elongated variation of Franklin's device. This snake was in nine segments, a dragon representing Great Britain. An English cartoon, printed about the time of Cornwallis' surrender, shows the camp of the British commander completely enclosed in the coils of a huge rattlesnake. Can the artist have taken a hint from another American emblem, that of the coiled rattlesnake with the legend, "Don't Tread on Me"?

In these earlier conflicts, we may observe, the snake was an honorable symbol; but when it next appeared, after a retirement of more than sixty years, it was used by Northern cartoonists to symbolize sedition, secession, and slavery—thus giving swift point to the reflection quoted from Carlyle. During the Civil War also those Northern Democrats who favored an early and inconclusive peace were dubbed "copperheads" and were frequently and mercilessly cartooned as such.

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The Devil was much in evidence in our early cartoons. One, printed in 1764, shows him commending Franklin, and this is ironical enough since in what was probably the first true cartoon in America the man who introduced the art is the first to be pilloried. The female figure representing Columbia was taken from English, French, and Dutch cartoons of the Revolutionary Period and symbolized the American people until the appearance of Brother Jonathan in 1812. A cartoon engraved about 1795 showing William Cobbett as a porcupine spewing venom upon the works and names of liberal statesmen and authors also shows the Devil, the British Lion, Columbia, and the Liberty Cap and Pole.

The American Eagle made his first appearance as a cartoon symbol during the campaign which resulted in Jefferson's election to the Presidency in 1800. On bended knee before an "Altar to the Gallic Despotism," upon which the works of Paine, Godwin, Voltaire, and others are already burning, Jefferson is shown about to cast the Constitution into the flames. He is prevented by the American Eagle which seizes the document with one of its claws and threatens Jefferson with the other. The Eagle, although not of frequent appearance, has the most continuous history of all American cartoon symbols. The artists seem to have a great respect for him and he is usually brought forward only in times of national stress. Very occasionally, however, he is presented as a jocular and cocky fellow as in Gunn's cartoon in *The Lantern* in the early 1850's. Here he is shown in a beaver hat and striped trousers, smoking a cigar, while looking on approvingly from his perch on the top of the world at the efforts of Cuba to escape from Spain. In 1861 Woolf drew a striking double cartoon entitled "Our National Bird as it appeared when handed to James Buchanan, March 4th, 1857—The Identical Bird as it appeared A.D. 1861." The first shows the Eagle in full strength of wing and feather; the second shows him a wretched woe-begone creature with a chain about his neck, wings clipped, feathers plucked, and stumps labeled "Secession" and "Anarchy" for legs.

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The famous "Gerrymander," usually attributed to Gilbert Stuart but really designed by Elkanah Tisdale, was first printed in the *Boston Weekly Messenger* on March 26, 1812. By adding

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wings, claws, and fangs to a map of an arbitrary alignment of towns in Essex County, so arranged to assure a Democratic majority, Tisdale drew public attention to a questionable practice; and the name he gave to this monster, "Gerrymander" (a telescoping of the name of Governor Gerry and salamander), will survive as long as the chicanery itself. We still have occasion to speak of the gerrymandering of an election district although no such practice has offered any cartoonist since Tisdale so splendid a chance to exercise his ingenuity.

We now come to Brother Jonathan and Uncle Sam. The Revolutionary Yankee Doodle never achieved cartoon immortality but his immediate descendant, Brother Jonathan, came very much to the fore during the War of 1812. For many years previous to that he had been a favorite stage character, typifying the American people rather than the Government. He was a tall, lean, shrewd fellow from rural New England; trader, peddler, and sailor by turns; and was audacious, impudent, and witty. He was not too honest and was willing to "outsmart" the Government as well as his fellow citizens. But upon occasion he could and did (with the aid of the cartoonists) remember his patriotic duties. And therefore we find him, in an engraving by Doolittle in 1813, giving John Bull his dose of "Perry." From then on down to the late 1850's he was a very popular fellow. Throughout his career as an actor Brother Jonathan wore a tall hat, a long-tailed blue coat, and red-and-white striped trousers—the costume he wore during his forty years as a cartoon character and the costume he bequeathed to Uncle Sam.

It is curious that Uncle Sam was first mentioned during the campaign that witnessed the first cartoon of Brother Jonathan. When army supplies packed and shipped by Samuel Wilson (who was familiarly known as Uncle Sam Wilson) were stamped "U.S." it got about among the soldiers that Uncle Sam was feeding and taking care of his army. And from that time on Uncle Sam was understood to represent the head of the collective American households. Some years elapsed before he attained cartoon honors but not so many as is generally supposed. It has been er-

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roneously assumed that his first cartoon appearance was in 1852, yet he figures in two unsigned lithographic cartoons nearly twenty years earlier. In both he is presented as a very sick man, seated in a chair and wearing a striped wrapper, surrounded by quack doctors in the persons of Jackson, Van Buren, and Benton. A very remarkable and, so far as I am aware, unique feature in one of these lithographs is the appearance of both Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan in the same cartoon. Uncle Sam is here shown to be getting impatient with the quacks and is threatening to send for "Dr. Biddle"—late head of the United States Bank. Outside through the window one may perceive Brother Jonathan welcoming Biddle. Here it would seem to be plain enough that Uncle Sam represented the Government and Brother Jonathan the American people.

At about this time there appeared a figure which bid fair to put Brother Jonathan out of the running—Major Jack Downing. The Major was a fictional creation of Seba Smith whose *Letters* and *Life and Letters* of his hero had enormous popularity and a host of imitators. The letters, written to and about his friend "Gineral Jackson," contain many keen satiric shafts shrewdly disguised as exuberant admiration of Jackson's policies. So great was the Major's popularity that several lithographic houses issued cartoons purporting to be by "Zek Downing, neffu to Major Jack" in which the Major was shown approving or reproving the public acts and private antics of the tempestuous Chief Executive.

But we must now return to the menagerie to take a look at one of the most remarkable products of the politico-graphic imagination, the Half-horse, Half-alligator. The precise origin of this fabulous beast is quite properly shrouded in mystery. His first public appearance is as a skeleton! This is in an engraving by Akin about 1828; the skeleton of "Old Kanetuck, Half Horse —Half Alligator," suddenly confronts a politician with unpleasant memories. The symbol, I take it, represented what was then the Southwest. The West, which was then the Mississippi region, was depicted as an alligator, the old South as a horse, the

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Northeast as a turtle. A lithographic cartoon entitled *The Great American Steeple Chase for 1844* shows all these regional symbols and others besides. Clay is seen mounted on "Old Kentuck," Webster on the turtle, Polk (who actually won) has had a spill from his horse, Van Buren is astride a fox, and Calhoun is on a donkey.

The Donkey as the symbol of the Democratic party is much older than some admirers of Nast contend. He is in fact a centenarian. Many lithographic and etched cartoons of the early 1830's show Andrew Jackson mounted on a donkey or jackass and others show the ass with Jackson's head. And between the 30's and the 70's (in which last decade Nast popularized the symbol) the donkey made several graphic appearances—notably during the Civil War, when he was shown wearing the Confederate flag as a binder, and, in another instance, mounted backwards by McClellan and urged forwards by Barlow and Belmont. The Democratic party in the 1880's, and perhaps earlier, was both officially and satirically represented by a rooster. There have been other devices and symbols also for the major parties but they have mostly been short-lived, hardly surviving from one campaign to the next.

The Tammany Tiger and the Republican Elephant are exceptional symbols in that they are the creations of one man only —of Thomas Nast, America's great master of the cartoonist's art. Oddly enough Nast got the hint for his famous tiger creation from the very man against whom he used it most destructively. In his younger days Tweed had been chief of Fire Engine Company "Big Six" and the engine bore a tiger's head as an emblem. When Tweed became a power in Tammany he carried the emblem with him—presumably for luck! Nast had frequently used it in his cartoons attacking the Tweed Ring but only as a sort of sign manual. Two days before the municipal election in 1871, however, *Harper's Weekly* published Nast's terrifically forceful "Tammany Tiger Loose." Here for the first time the whole tiger makes his appearance—and in a Roman arena, rending and crushing a symbolical figure of the Republic. Tweed and his co-

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THE TAMMANY TIGER LOOSE.—"What are you going to do about it?"
(The first use of the famous Tiger symbol)

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horts look eagerly down from the Imperial enclosure. The subtitle "What are you going to do about it?" is a timely repetition of Tweed's own cynical question.

The Republican Elephant, which first appeared in 1874, was then labelled by Nast "Republican Vote" and not for some little time did he come to represent what he does today, the party itself. A cry of "Third Term Cæsarism" had been raised by the *New York Herald* against Grant, and Nast ridicules the fear by showing the *Herald* as a donkey in a lion's skin frightening the other animals and stampeding the Elephantine Republican Vote to the edge of a pit covered with planks labeled *Repudiation*, *Inflation*, etc. It is said that cartoon symbols are invented by derisive opponents but in this significant instance the inventor, Nast, was a Republican and members of that party may have accepted the elephant because of his great size, his dignity, his strength, and his intelligence. On the other side the Democrats may have accepted him as symbolizing timidity and docility. And they possibly realized that in cartooning there were abundant opportunities for making the great animal effectively ridiculous.

Nast invented a great number of telling cartoon devices many of which he used persistently for months in his attacks on measures and policies of which he disapproved. Among these devices the most striking were the steel trap which he made his Uncle Sam wear on his ankle to remind him of his folly in walking into the Matthews Silver Payment Bill, the Gratz Brown "Tag" on Greeley's coat (Brown was vice-presidential candidate on the Greeley ticket and Nast never honored him with more notice than this tag), the "Rag Baby" of Inflation, and the Tilden "Cypher Mummy"—Tilden in a mummy case covered with the fateful cypher letter disclosures. These devices, ingenious though they were, died with the issues they symbolized. Nast also brought back Columbia as representing the American people —but not the classical female of the flowing robes. His Columbia was a handsome young woman dressed in the height of contemporary fashion and generally shown with Uncle Sam; but whether she was niece, wife, or daughter is impossible to decide.

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Father Knickerbocker, a lean elderly gentleman wearing the rectangular eyeglasses and the ornate costume of two centuries ago, has long been the stock conventional figure representing the people of New York City. Doubtless Washington Irving's "Diedrich Knickerbocker" was his prototype rather than any of the family from whom Irving drew his famous character.

But what shall be said of "Old Man Prohibition"? He has been so prominent during the last twenty years that we are likely to forget that he really is old. Like all nationally conspicuous figures he must have had obscure local beginnings. One of his earliest appearances was in Keppler's German language weekly, *Die Vehme*, published in St. Louis in 1870; and it is worth noting that in this drawing of more than eighty years ago he is the same thin-figured, top-hatted, coat-tailed bigot with whom we are so familiar today, and that he is even armed with the same umbrella!

If I have been chary of opinions, assumptions, and conclusions with regard to the origin or fate of cartoon types and symbols—if I have avoided speculations as to why this one has survived or that one become extinct—it is because all such musings are of dubious value. I have presented reproductions and detailed descriptions; in a word, I have presented the facts. One might argue that the persistence of a symbol depends largely upon its popular appeal or one might attribute it to the inertia or even to the indifference of the general public. It is rather more likely that cartoon symbols remain effective only as long as the issues, parties, or institutions they symbolize remain powers for good or ill. And, one might add, as long as cartoonists are willing to use them.

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The Negro in Industry

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CONVICTION is spreading these days that racial prejudice is closely linked with economic insecurity. Plans are legion for the economic health that will give us more mutual liking between races, but few of the plans include any hint of the steps by which they can be put into effect. We shall be nearer actual social reorganization when we recognize that we have become a society in which economic life is no longer a series of self-adjusting events but a network of organized, operative policies. Thus far the decisions which govern us have been taken by compact minorities, usually of the super-propertied, and have been enforced through business associations and legislatures. Political realism today calls for the substitution of direct representation of popular interests in economic decisions in the place of reliance upon the State's machinery alone. This is the clearest pathway ahead to an economy which shall be both democratic and productively coordinated.

The Negro is in the peculiar position of virtual exclusion from any form of representation whatsoever. The Southern states, across a tier of which eight million Negroes live, have made but little effort to organize the common wealth of their population; from what little has been done the Negro was excluded by his disfranchisement. That majority of Negroes who were bound down to agriculture, last refuge of the economy of individualism, in which the whites also listlessly took what the market gave them, had no aids to the organization of their pressure for better living. When the Negro took up city work it was largely in the fields of domestic and personal service, where dependence is extreme. He has been kept out of most Southern factory work, and when he has had jobs on railroads or in heavy industries his own backwardness and the contrivance of the whites kept him in the ranks of the unorganized. Even in the Northern

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and border states' cities, into which Negroes were drawn in the boom years, they got the jobs requiring least skill and bringing the lowest pay, with the fewest pegs on which to hang a collective drive for advancement. The city Negro, like his kinsman on the land, has taken what he has been offered by business authorities in whose councils he has had no share.

Plain white people have been but little ahead of the Negroes in all this. The devices the white South used to disfranchise the Negro politically often disfranchised in effect the poorer classes of whites. Southern state governments no less than Northern ones have been agencies for enforcing the wishes of commercial or landowning interests. The deception in the South has been accomplished with the South's own demagogues; each generation of Carolinians or Louisianians has had its specialist in this work. In industry and commerce, the country over, white labor has had only feeble and irregular organization, capable of winning a share of power in only two or three major branches of economic activity.

This is a picture of the past and substantially it is the picture of the present. But anyone looking below the surface can discover the beginnings of a new set of representative institutions, occupational and regional, which promise extension of industrial and agricultural democracy.

The trade union, as the typical occupational association of the basic population, has no claim to being new, but except for one or two brief periods it has never before in this country penetrated to the level of the relatively unskilled. As a craftsmen's body it has not only been out of reach of most Negroes; it has been an agency for holding a preferred position for its members as against the unskilled forces below it, and to that extent has furnished, not a channel of representation for labor in general, but rather an obstacle to that representation. It is too much to expect that the few hundred thousand of the less skilled who have gone into the unions in the last two years will remake the American labor movement, but they are undoubtedly a powerful influence for progress.

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The regional grouping is as yet scarcely visible but its logic makes it inevitable. Our state lines were drawn in haste and in ignorance of the soils and topography they enclosed. In the South especially they tend to run diagonally opposite to the underlying lines of geographical difference. The Seaboard states were mapped as hinterlands to coastal cities. The cotton states of the Lower South included much more than the fat cotton lands for the mining of which they were settled. Any Southern state nicks three or four of the main regional divisions and in doing so it stands as an obstacle to the unity of the people who, geographically influenced in race, crops, and culture, have a unity needing to express itself. Apallachia, the Great Valley, the Carolina Sandhills, the industrial Piedmont, the old cotton belt, the Delta, and the coast countries are areas within which rural or commercial folk could make consensus of opinion. Conceivably the leaders of informally organized regional associations could discover and bring into democratic functioning an interrelated plan of advance for the several regions. The states already begin to serve as agencies giving formal legal sanction to decisions taken by regional conferences. The Tennessee Valley Authority is an example of the new association that has come into being. In its case the unity is one imposed by Washington rather than one which has worked itself popularly into expression, but there are signs that the Valley residents are building social machinery to fill up their new polity.

In both of these fields of representation the Negro is now beginning to bring himself to bear.

It is the rural dweller who gets the greatest usefulness out of regionalism. Well over half of the Southern Negroes are engaged in agriculture. They are concentrated most heavily in a crescent-like swath of counties stretching through the center of the South and into the Southwest. In many of the counties the small white population has a purely exploitative function, operating the system of land ownership, crop supervision, credit, and merchandising by which the Negro croppers and tenants are deprived of all earnings above a subsistence level. In others, however, whites

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and Negroes are plucked together by landlords caught in the staple-crop system. The Communists have built on this area of Negro predominance a proposal for a self-determining republic of Negroes which shall grant to whites the option of residence or departure. The Black Belt Republic is hardly a probability, but already there is recognition of the divisions into which the areas of heavy Negro population fall, and agricultural experts are mapping appropriate crop areas and blue-printing a cooperative agriculture for the various geographical and racial regions of the South. The realization of these objectives is speeded by the regionally localized agitations of the croppers and tenants themselves. Both the Sharecroppers Union in Alabama, which the Communists have kept together for four or five years with a loose membership of several thousand, and the new Southern Tenant Farmers Union (in Eastern Arkansas) which Socialists have recently aided, are organizations with heavy Negro majorities. Organization of the poorest farm population, by soils and crops, comes pretty close to the heart of what regionalism can be. Possibly a combination of pressure, from below, and of Federal money and Federal administration can effect reorganization of much of the cotton belt that is so largely a Negro belt. Agriculture, under the A.A.A., has left the zone of laissez-faire.

About half of our twelve million Negroes live in cities, with those in the North almost entirely urban. So great is this shift of the Negro to the cities that it is already being said he is predominantly industrialized, and that his problems must be solved as part of the general problem of industry. The posited channel of solution, however, the trade union, has traditionally been closed to the Negro. Here and there, in this trade and that, he has had union membership. Negro bricklayers, plasterers, and hod-carriers have been union people in many Southern cities, the longshoremen in the cotton ports and at Norfolk have been organized, and occasional small bodies of Negroes have been members of the Federal Labor Unions which the A. F. of L. chartered directly from itself. In other fields, and especially on the railroads, Negroes have formed separate unions of their own,

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often unrecognized by the whites and by the employers. Abram L. Harris, the authority in the whole field of Negro trade unionism, gives the reported Negro membership in trade unions in 1928 as about 55,000, of whom the largest groups were railway employes, coal miners, longshoremen, musicians, hod-carriers, and government employes.

Some twenty-four national unions are on the list of those excluding Negro membership by clauses in their constitutions or rituals. On this list stand the leading unions in the metal trades and nearly all those on the railroads. The effect of open exclusions and of the far more powerful general discrimination by mechanically and industrially employed whites is to disbar Negroes in the South from promotion to skilled places and to make the holding of good jobs very difficult to Negroes in the North. And many unions which practice exclusion are led into embittered racial prejudice since Negroes, having no organized loyalty to the whites, quite understandably become ready substitutes for the white men's jobs when there is a walkout. Unions of the semi-skilled and of the unskilled have shown less of the exclusive spirit, and the spread of organization in those fields makes possible not only general Negro advance but carries with it also the seeds of improved racial understanding.

Probably in Birmingham, Alabama, is to be found the liveliest trade unionism among Negroes in any one city today. Because Birmingham has a unique concentration of Negroes in heavy industries the movement there has no duplicates in Southern cities, but the influence of Birmingham's success with Negro organization is important in other Southern areas. Birmingham's labor movement in the pre-depression period was confined almost entirely to the skilled men in the building trades, the railway crafts, and a few city trades. The city has within its reach over 20,000 coal miners, 3,500 iron ore miners, 12 to 15,000 iron and steel workers, and some thousands more engaged in cement plants, sawmills, brickworks, and quarries. In these heavy industries and in mining the proportion of Negroes runs from 40 to 80 per cent. Except for sporadic organization among the

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coal miners, none of these thousands of workers had been organized at all. In 1930 when the American Federation of Labor launched an organizing drive in the South with Birmingham as headquarters the movement foundered on just this question of organizing the Negroes in the heavy industries; the Ku Klux Klan was too powerful to permit unionization of Negroes with whites and separate organization seemed useless. But even in 1930 the city had had two years of lessened business activity and by 1933 the suffering from unemployment and low wages was extreme. The launching of the N R A gave rise to organization on a large scale and this time the major industries were invaded, and invaded with mixed Negro and white trade unionism. The United Mine Workers swept through the Alabama mines, their organizers holding up fistfuls of silver and paper dollars and promising high cash pay instead of company store checks as a reward for joining. Negroes and whites flooded in; within 18 months there were scarcely 2000 miners in Alabama who were not union members, paying through the check-off.

Shortly after the coal miners had organized, the ore miners and blast furnace men sent North for organizers from the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers and within a few months had unionized several thousand Negroes and several hundred whites. The iron and steel union drew in 2000 men but kept them only a short time; it has since practically succumbed to company unionism in Birmingham's branch mills of the United States Steel Corporation. More thousands joined Federal Labor Unions in iron and cement works. Organization spilled over into the white collar classes, reaching bank clerks, construction foremen, and technical and clerical workers. Among Negroes one enterprising ex-preacher formed an association of several hundred farm hands, domestic servants, housewives, and unemployed people, getting them a state charter as the Forgotten Workers of America. By the middle of last autumn at least 35,000 new members had gone into trade unions in the Birmingham district and of these about 25,000 were Negroes, all but a few thousand of whom were meeting in the same halls with the whites.

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A less vigorous but still active movement for the organization of Negroes could be instanced in the railway repair shops of the South. The white crafts which have long controlled the mechanics' jobs show no sign of letting up on their policy of keeping Negroes out of membership and out of skilled work; on the contrary in the last few years they have strengthened their pressure to remove from good places the Negroes who were promoted as strikebreakers in the 1922 strike. Negro helpers are numerous in the shops and common labor is mainly Negro. Neither of these classes had had any worth while organization until recently; in negotiations with the management they were represented, in theory, by white union members, who might or might not give unprejudiced consideration to the grievances of individual Negroes. Since the passage of the 1933 amendment to the Railway Labor Act, however, definite steps have been taken to bring the Negroes into the field of solidarity. The union of Stationary Firemen and Oilers has had its jurisdiction extended to cover both Negro helpers and common laborers, and in many shops the Negroes have joined. Representation is still indirect, the bargaining being done by all-white committees, and Negroes have been hanging back partly on this account. Whatever growth there has been in Negro membership has coincided with a general substitution of straight A. F. of L. unionism for the company unions which had been in the field in many shops since the 1922 strike.

Accompanying this activity in heavy industry and in railroad shops in the South there has gone a general swelling-out of Negro membership in the unions of longshoremen, quarrymen, building tradesmen, cooks and waiters, and building service men. Many new Federal Labor Unions, composed mainly or in part of Negroes, have been started, particularly in the South. Typical groups entering these unions have been cement workers, laundry employes, lumbermen, food-packers, janitors, greenhouse workers, brickyard men, and miscellaneous railroad crafts. In several Southern cities the organizations of Negro and white unemployed have been active. At many points the few Negroes

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who work in the textile mills have also been brought into the unions.

In the big Northern industrial plants the Negroes have organized in about the same proportion as the whites. In steel they joined readily, though usually little special effort was made to appeal to them, but their membership in the weak steel union has thus far availed them and the whites very little. In slaughtering and meat packing a real effort was made to bring in the Negroes, but the tradition of Negro encroachment in the industry is strong and although many Negroes joined, both they and the white workers were luke-warm, leaving little room for permanent unionism. Considerable numbers of garment workers have been organized, and the Pullman porters have grown rapidly in strength. On many lines Negro dining-car cooks and waiters are being unionized into a local which for the first time contains the white stewards. Negro building-service employes in some Northern cities are well organized.

From the point of view of improved race relationships it is from the mixed Negro and white union, especially in the South, that most is to be expected. The power of employers to hold both whites and Negroes to low standards by playing off one group against the other is well understood; and both Negroes and whites have found a new source of mutual knowledge in the determination to lessen that power—a determination in which all of the mixed unions have been formed. The extreme degree of segregation in the South has made even acquaintance between Negroes and white working people a thing to be shunned. Mixed trade unionism, calling for confidence from each race that it will be assisted by the other in a common drive for advance, makes interracial acquaintance a necessity. The movement proceeds within a cloud of prejudice; each race is cautious to give no offense to the South's fear of whatever is implied in the term "social equality." At meetings Negro and white members sit on different sides of the union halls, the chair in almost every case is occupied by a white officer, and for the general membership the relationship involved in the industrial movement ceases at

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the foot of the lodge staircase when the meeting is over. For the leadership of each group some further conference is required, and a good many respected whites have found their way to the front porches of Negro houses for the urging of this or that. It is this double network of understanding, generalized for the body of the members but quite effective among the leaders, that gives rise to a hope that out of mixed unionism can come a lessening of intolerance and of interracial violence. Negroes as well as whites stand to gain from this broad improvement. Since in many unions the Negroes are a majority or a powerful minority, this can and does exert a steady pressure for white recognition of Negro skill. The Negro well knows the effect of prejudice on promotion. "When it comes to the Negro getting skilled work, his face is against him" is a common Negro recognition of the prejudice. Negroes pay dues at a high rate of sacrifice out of their low earnings and will inevitably slacken their assistance to the whites unless they gain concessions. And the whites in areas of heavy Negro employment recognize their own helplessness without the Negro.

The movement of course has its dangers. Many whites, especially among the skilled groups, consider mixed trade unionism a violation of the Southern social pattern and either stand aloof or actively oppose it. When strikes occur and tempers are high a Negro picket's confronting of a white who wishes to work can make trouble—and trouble of that kind spreads easily in the South. It is true, also, that in some centers, Birmingham among them, Communist agitation has been important, and that the prejudice which can be aroused against the Communists threatens disorder. Until a few months ago Communist influence in Southern cities was almost entirely confined to the unemployed, but the new policy of building a web of membership inside the standard unions has had some success. In defense of the Communists it must be said that they were early in the field, pointing out the advantages of common membership, and that their courage in the face of police persecution has had a stiffening influence on the whole movement. Changes in race relationships will

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hardly come without incidental disturbances, but if gains are made they may very well outbalance the evils.

As against the departures from custom involved in the mixed unions, company unionism offers itself as the continuation of the status quo. It involves no general meetings, either by racial groups or together, it usually provides separate representation for each race, and it proposes to have none of the planning for solidarity involved in a movement which nurses the power to strike. At the same time it fits in readily with the intention of the better-paid whites to cling to their existing advantages over the Negroes. Well-placed white men in plants with mixed working forces are likely to consider the company union their safest lodging place. And it has its tempting side to Negroes as well. In plants where company unions exist a few Negroes have often been given quite good jobs both as a reward for loyal service and as an incentive to individualism among others. It is a deep-rooted Negro tradition to side with the most powerful whites against the laboring whites who are his competitors, and company unionism encourages this loyalty.

The visible swing of Negroes toward organization, both in country districts and in the cities, opens to them channels of progress which have thus far been scarcely used. Just what kind of organization they should find is not to be judged. But as a generalization it might be suggested that Negroes will discover they are in need of a double representation. They need all the bargaining machinery which whites require, and usually they will be best off in unions with whites. In addition they need defense from the effects of existing white prejudice. Possibly they will build up some federation of Negro trade unionists, working peacefully with the regular unions but pushing constantly for enlargement of Negro membership, for the opening of unions hitherto closed to them, and for the use of collective Negro pressure in winning concessions from white workers as well as from employers. Signs of such a loose but inclusive association of Negro groups, occupational and regional, are already discoverable in the general Negro movement.

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How Radical Are College Students?

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WHEN in the spring of 1933 twenty-three thousand college students signed a pledge not to bear arms in another war those who were well acquainted with the temperament of American undergraduates dismissed collegiate pacifism as a passing fad which would be forgotten as soon as the next football season arrived. But the students did not forget pacifism. The peace campaigns were resumed in the fall of 1933 with renewed vigor and anti-war congresses, nationwide peace strikes, and thousands of additional pledges not to bear arms attested to the increasing strength of the student pacifist movement. Although the current school year is only a few months old, anti-war agitation has already reappeared on many college campuses. The unexpected longevity of collegiate pacifism has led many optimistic liberals to believe that the long-awaited awakening of American college students has at last arrived. Undoubtedly the rapid and continuous spread of militant pacifism indicates that some sort of awakening is taking place on American college campuses. But does it mean that college students have swung far to the left? How radical are our American students?

There can be little doubt that American students taken as a group are slowly moving toward the left. But they started so far to the right that they have hardly reached the center, much less the left represented by the Socialists and Communists. In the presidential straw vote of 1932 the students favored Hoover over Roosevelt by a vote of 28,180 to 17,712. Thomas polled 10,170 votes. Two years ago the students were more conserva-

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tive than the country at large, if not actually reactionary. The *Literary Digest* poll held this year reveals that the colleges have now swung behind Roosevelt and favor his policies by a two to one majority. Roosevelt, however, has not drawn his new strength entirely from the conservative camp, for the universities that formerly supported Thomas gave Roosevelt far greater majorities than those which formerly backed Hoover. This was to be expected inasmuch as the large Thomas vote indicated Republican and Democratic weakness rather than Socialist strength. The Socialist vote was obviously a protest vote. The National Student League for Industrial Democracy, the student Socialist organization, had approximately 3000 members in 1932. Its membership did not increase in 1934. Students have gone from Hooverism to the liberalism typified by the New Deal; not from capitalism to Marxism.

Student pacifists and even their leaders are quick to deny that they are radicals. The editor of a well-known college daily which has played an important part in anti-war agitation protested against the efforts of Socialists "to horn in on all peace movements." Some editors are forced to take this stand for fear of incurring the displeasure of college authorities but in general the American student has an inbred hatred of anything that is called radical. Pacifism had to be sugar-coated with slogans such as "the new patriotism" before undergraduates found it palatable. A large measure of the success of the original campaign can be attributed to the fact that it was initiated by the Brown *Daily Herald* which up to that time had enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most conservative of all college publications.

The economic and social implications of war in modern society are at best only vaguely understood by college students. In anti-war editorials published in college newspapers one finds recurring again and again a definite fear of exploitation. The Yale junior who said that "he did not want to die to make the world safe for J. P. Morgan" expressed a thought common to all college pacifists. They are completely convinced that big business alone profits by wars. But this thought occurs in vacuum.

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The students do not link it to the profit system or the larger aspects of capitalism. They fear exploitation but they have not thought the subject through far enough to discover why the possibility of such exploitation exists. Just as beggars are often the staunchest advocates of capitalism, college pacifists are at the present time loyal defenders of the profit system.

Militant pacifism is indirectly an expression of the student's lack of faith in his immediate economic future rather than of new-born radicalism. Few of the thousands of recent graduates have found employment. Those few who have obtained work have been forced to be content with extremely humble jobs. Reports of unemployment and actual want have been brought back to the colleges by recent alumni. The present undergraduate realizes that his immediate future is uncertain and gloomy. But if the college student no longer believes that prosperity is just around the corner he still has sublime confidence that such a corner does exist and that he will eventually reach it if he is patient and willing to wait a number of years.

Students are pacifists because they believe that war will destroy this lone hope remaining to them. They feel they are entitled at least to a fair chance to realize their ambitions. Even if by some miracle they do survive a war, which most of them are convinced they will not, the students and recent graduates believe they will neither have the courage nor faith left to enable them to resume the struggle to make a place for themselves in the world. The world is not a pleasant place for young men now. College men are of the opinion that they cannot support the added burden of war. Pacifism is the young man's plea for fair play. When pacifist agitation ceases in the colleges it will mean that American youth has lost all faith in the "Democratic dogma"—all hope that we can achieve peace and security through the processes of representative government. Then he will be ready to join the ranks of the storm troopers or revolutionists.

For the same reason that he does not understand why we have war in modern society the college student does not know why

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there is no place for him in the modern world. The conversion of the vast majority of undergraduates to the support of the New Deal indicates that they are ready to grasp at straws. They back the New Deal because it seems to offer them some hope. But the students have not come down to fundamentals. As in the case of war, they have not and probably do not want to think the subject through. Intelligent students know the answer they would arrive at and they do not want to face it. From his childhood the American youth has been taught that the names socialism, communism, and radicalism denote all that is evil. It is too much to expect him to overcome the training of a lifetime within the space of a few short years.

It is interesting to speculate what would happen if the student pacifists were forced to face the issue of an immediate war. As far as it goes the students' hatred of war is well-grounded. They believe that war is futile and destructive. They are convinced that the civilization which they know cannot survive another international catastrophe of the proportions of the World War. And what is more important, they have come to believe that it is just as noble to fight for peace as war. On the surface it would appear that undergraduates may well prove a pacifist bulwark. But does the student class, if such a class actually exists, possess sufficient unity to combine in opposition to war?

American undergraduates represent such a range of economic interests and come from so many different strata of society that it is difficult to believe they will discover sufficient common interests to make them a cohesive entity in wartime. A survey made in 1927 revealed that 53 per cent of the students came from the proprietary, professional, and managerial service group; 23 per cent from the agricultural group; and only 11 per cent from workers' homes. On past performance only the 11 per cent in the worker category could be expected to offer any sort of opposition to war. When an international conflict comes the undergraduates will probably break up into sections representing their class interests at home, not their class interests as members of the student body.

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Deriving largely from the bourgeoisie, American students benefit, at least theoretically, from the existing economic order. They can hardly be expected to support what many consider the only solution to the war problem—revolution. The only conceivable instance in which college students would willingly go to war would be in the case America should intervene in Europe to suppress a widespread proletarian revolt. The American student fears revolution even more than he does war. He would rather struggle along under the existing economic system than risk the uncertainties of a new order. Due to his training and economic background the college student is far more likely to support fascism than communism. If revolution ever comes in the United States we shall undoubtedly find the college students fighting in the front ranks of the capitalist forces.

It is not surprising that radicalism has not as yet made much headway on American college campuses. The student knows more of poverty than he did, for every year he sees more and more of his classmates forced to wear second-hand clothes and to grub scant meals at the college cafeteria. But the vast majority of the undergraduates have been left relatively untouched by the depression. The conservative middle-class homes from which the average undergraduate comes have suffered from the depression, but this has meant fewer luxuries, not privation and want, for most students. True radicalism will not take root in American universities until a majority of the students are brought face to face with actual poverty. A full stomach is not conducive to radical thought.

It is true that the student is far more receptive to new ideas than he was in 1930. Student thought is no longer stagnant but in a state of flux. The very fluidity of student thought, however, contains potential danger, for the new ideas that the American undergraduate accepts may be fascism, not radicalism. Those who have considered collegiate pacifism a harbinger of the birth of radicalism have been misled.

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Emerson in Dundee

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"I HAVE seen Emerson,—the first *man* I have ever seen." Since this is from a girl's diary and young ladies, we are told, frequently confess to their diaries with an exaggerated emphasis, one might be inclined to pass lightly over this hyperbole. But Mary Ann Evans, in other words, George Eliot, was the young enthusiast. Nor was she unique in her admiration; many persons in the British Isles—men and women—were eager to greet the American who in 1847–1848 ventured from his far land to deliver some lectures in England.

Thomas Carlyle, of course, asserted his prerogative as an old friend to demand a visit to Cheyne Row, Chelsea, from the man with whom he had now been in correspondence for some fifteen years. As everyone knows, the two had found each other in 1833 in that romantic encounter in Dumfriesshire when Emerson, a young tourist searching for health, great men, and the right to his own independence, sought out and tested, in turn, Walter Savage Landor in Italy, Coleridge in London, Wordsworth at the Lakes, and the young Scotsman at Craigenputtock.

On this early junket in Europe the traveler necessarily had met other persons—men quite unknown to fame. Among these was a certain Alexander Ireland, a youthful resident of Edinburgh, who chanced to serve as his guide about the city. Ireland was greatly impressed with the American, so much so that he chronicled the meeting in his diary, dwelling with enthusiasm on the brilliance of Emerson's conversation and his ingratiating personality. The young Scot could not have been greatly surprised when, some few years later, the first slim pamphlets from Emerson's pen and his little azure covered book, *Nature*, reached the shores of England to start on its way a literary reputation which was eventually to reach no mean proportions in Europe.

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Shortly after the year 1833 Alexander Ireland moved to Manchester in the Midlands of England to pursue a career as journalist, and it was not long before his energies lifted him to a position of prominence in that city. He became managing editor and part owner of the liberal *Manchester Examiner* but this office was not his only key to influence. Broad humanitarianism was the distinguishing characteristic of many worthy men of the day and Ireland, one who loved his fellow man, inevitably played his part in those enterprises which sought to check the evils that attended the rise of the new industrialism—muddily swirling tides that washed over the cities of the Midlands, choking intelligence and debasing the human spirit. What better means than adult education to combat the forces which threatened to drown the better instincts of mankind? So Manchester, in common with almost every other city in industrial England, had its Mechanics' Institute and its Athenæum (of which Ireland was a director) as centers for the diffusion of light to the darkened people through night-school classes, libraries, and lectures. Whether or not the rank and file actually craved this illumination does not concern us here—suffice it to say that at least they patronized the offerings made available to them. Men and women flocked to lectures as cattle to a salt-lick and persons whose duty it was to secure fresh speakers found themselves increasingly hard put to it to supply the demand. Alexander Ireland knew these difficulties. And the happy thought struck him that here was an opportunity again to bring Ralph Waldo Emerson to England. Emerson's countrywoman, Margaret Fuller, had passed through Manchester in the summer of 1846 and from her Ireland had learned of his admired acquaintance's success as a lyceum lecturer. Before the year was out he had invited him to visit England in the capacity of public speaker, and presently followed his plea with more letters urging the excursion.

At first Emerson was chary of the notion. "I have new letters from Mr. Ireland concerning lectures in England," he wrote to Miss Fuller, "but I shall not be very forward. I am not young enough now to have any projects of literary propagandism there,

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and do not wish to collect an audience with pains, or that others should for me." Clearly he felt the adventure to be hazardous at best and had little realization of the elaborate preparations for an extended tour which Ireland, an energetic enthusiast, was ready to undertake. Yet he was tempted. Had not Carlyle written from London of possible lectures to be delivered there? Certainly these would furnish an excuse for a visit to the man Emerson had learned to love from the time of the pilgrimage to Craigenputtock. When at last he consented to go he regarded the engagement to lecture mainly as an excuse once more to call on old acquaintances and to see the world.

No sooner had he debarked at Liverpool than he was startled to find himself grist for the mill. A few days after his arrival on October 22, 1847 the *Manchester Times* remarked: "We understand that the interest excited by the presence of Mr. Emerson in England is causing him to be presented with numerous offers of engagements from various literary societies throughout the country." His dream of a leisurely stay in Europe speedily turned into a nightmare of hectic activity. The ordeal, day after day, of reading lectures came to be, in the victim's words, "sometimes pounds of flesh." "Thomas Paine anniversaries; Roscoe Club Soirees; Infant Athenæums that hold bazaars," he wrote to his brother William, "all beckon and solicit the attention of the new come lecturer." Nor was the demand confined to England. Scotland, even Ireland, called for their quota of edification or entertainment. In fact Edinburgh, where the American intended to pass a week, requested more than it was physically possible to give. The Philosophical Institution of that city, under the auspices of which Emerson was invited to talk, had originally announced a course of six lectures on "Representative Men." But in that same week the speaker was obligated to Glasgow for two discourses and the neighboring town of Paisley was looking forward to at least one appearance. And other Scottish towns—Dundee and Perth—wished to hear the American author. At Emerson's earnest plea the Edinburgh series was somewhat curtailed.

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If the lecturer was taken by surprise by the multiplication of his engagements he must have found cause for wonder in another unlooked-for phenomenon. From many quarters of the British Isles he began to receive letters, chiefly from young men: letters which bore thanks for help received from the *Essays* (these, both the first and second series, had been notably introduced to the British public in English editions with prefaces by Thomas Carlyle); letters full of interested inquiry concerning the scope of the lecture tour and expressing the hope that it would embrace the correspondent's town; letters full of the literary plans and aspirations of their youthful writers; notes requesting the favor of a personal acquaintance. "The oddest part of my new position is my alarming penny correspondence," Emerson wrote to Carlyle. Perhaps it was to be expected that old friends like Harriet Martineau, who had met Emerson in 1835 when she visited the States, should invite him to be their guest; that friends of Carlyle should wish to meet the American. As Carlyle himself wrote: "Here is a Mr. Forster, of Rawdon, or Bradford, in Yorkshire; our late host in the Autumn time; who expects and longs to be yours when you come into those parts." But these other, unforeseen letters, coming from nowhere, like random feathers in the wind, caught Emerson by surprise. They moved his quiet, generous nature and he took pains to answer them. He replied at once to Arthur Hugh Clough, Fellow of Oriel College, informing him that there was no place he was more eager to visit than Oxford. To William Allingham, who lived at Donegal, Ireland, he dispatched several letters in answer to Allingham's modest proffers of friendship. Allingham was as yet quite unknown as a poet and Emerson's generous praise of a poem in manuscript sent from Ireland in the first letter must have warmed the young aspirant's heart. The correspondents were from all walks of life, ranging from artists like William Bell Scott to prosperous merchants like Joseph Neuberg of Nottingham and successful manufacturers like William Crashaw of Newcastle who begged to be Emerson's host for the lecture there.

It must not be supposed that Emerson's march through the

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British Isles had been an unimpeded triumph. His lectures, which not infrequently seemed outrageous to minds accustomed to nineteenth-century conventions, were quite capable of breeding prejudice if the critic could not know the man himself. Indeed personal acquaintance might not in all cases turn away wrath. A correspondent to the *Manchester Examiner*, injured in his sense of religiosity, protested that some of the American's "bold enunciations" would contaminate the minds of the young men who heard them, while a writer to the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* moved heaven and earth to seek the cancellation of the lecturer's engagements in that city on the grounds that he struck at "the foundation of those principles of Christian faith and practice which are founded on eternal truth, and which we have been accustomed to hold so dear as truth itself."

With such warnings ringing in his ears Emerson may well have faced his engagements to lecture in Scotland with hesitation. Does the land of Calvin ever permit liberties with her Godly beliefs or fail to punish triflers? Firm, established as her grey hills, drab as they, her ways of holiness resist the assaults of those who presumptuously dare to question. North of the Tweed, certainly, the nineteenth century furnished no arena for theological give and take. The Church *held*, and that ended that.

If Emerson's eye chanced to fall on the pages of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* for January 1848 such doubts as he had may well have given place to trepidation. The leading article of the issue bore the title, "Ralph Waldo Emerson; or, the 'Coming Man.'" Its author, creator of the pun, was George Gilfillan, minister of Dundee, and Dundee, after the fulfilment of engagements at Edinburgh and Glasgow, was to be the scene of Emerson's next appearance. Obviously Gilfillan did not wish the speaker to reach the town uninstructed or uninformed.

> Some of his expressions have been imprudent, and even outrageous. What, for example, did he mean by this: ". . . Man on the *gallows*, or in the *brothel*, is always on his way *upwards*." (There can be little doubt as to the *gallows*, that he is!) Such escapades as these are certain to be misunderstood by one class, and to disgust another; and we can assure

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Mr. Emerson that they are unworthy of his genius—that they tend to injure his object—that in Scotland they will not be endured—and that these are the things which have made, to our knowledge, some of his best and oldest friends tremble lest his visit should be productive of more evil than good.

It should hastily be added that among these best and oldest friends Gilfillan included himself and had a right thereto.

George Gilfillan prided himself on his position as literary critic and as the advocate of misunderstood genius. And has not a champion, where correction is deserved, the right to chide those who come under his protection? Thus, while free in discussing their faults, he was the staunch defender of Percy Bysshe Shelley, that misunderstood revolutionary, and even supported Edgar Allan Poe, devil's disciple in the mind of many an upright critic of the day. Gilfillan employed a far weightier battering ram against the walls of public opinion than the ephemeral periodical. He believed in the might of books to present his views, and his first *Gallery of Literary Portraits* came from the press in 1845. "The men he has selected," the critic-author announced in his preface, "are, in his judgment, the leading lights—the *decora et tutamina* of their age." Prominent among his luminaries was Ralph Waldo Emerson. And in the article in *Tait's* Gilfillan reaffirmed his belief, first uttered in the "portrait," that Emerson was, "let Americans say what they please . . . their truest and strongest spirit." Like Carlyle, like many literary midwives, Gilfillan felt that there was a tenuous spiritual alliance between himself and the man from Concord. This opinion he had reached through reading his works; soon he could test the man himself.

Personally, mentally, physically, it would be difficult to find two men more remote from each other than Ralph Waldo Emerson and George Gilfillan. But there were points in common which could deceive the casual observer. Both were fighters for freedom—yet in how different ways! Gilfillan must needs lash out, strike with mailed fist, and hurt to cure. In reproving Emerson for preaching nature as "a healing influence of universal effi-

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cacy" the rugged Scotsman cries: "Surely the beauties of nature are an appliance too refined for the present coarse complaints of degraded humanity, which a fiercer caustic must cure." In brief he was a child of Calvin and though in many respects broad and liberal could not escape his heritage. He had, as might be expected with such a full spirit as his, passed through the flames of a youthful period of struggle and had made "a fluctuating progress through doubts and darkness to a modified form of orthodoxy." It was while he was tracing this path, even being drawn towards Pantheism—mumbo jumbo of the century—that the writings of Emerson and Carlyle most intimately journeyed with him. But although Gilfillan designated his way as fluctuating the progress of such as he is under an irresistible compulsion. By 1836 he was ordained to the office of the ministry as pastor of George's Chapel, Dundee. And by 1848 he was one of the notable men of Scotland.

His very energy put him in a commanding position. He preached with vehemence and force, tears streaming from his eyes or bellowings of wrath straining his throat according to the demand of the emotions—always genuine—of the moment. In vigorous, bombastic, colorful style—verging not seldom on the magenta—he penned his articles for journals and wrote his opinionated books. He lectured with authority and assurance. He was a fervent advocate of the cause of the Abolitionist. As for the education-of-the-people movement he interested himself hugely in it, with all his robust energies. And his breadth, his genuine sympathies, his courage, are perhaps best shown by the part he played in bringing to Dundee lecturers whose heterodoxy was as conspicuous as their ability. Gilfillan never feared the consequences of such action and more than once found himself in the tangles and vehemences of church reproof. He welcomed excitement. He was a zestful man.

Inevitably he made the Watt Institute of Dundee (the equivalent of the Mechanics' Institutions and Athenaeums of other towns) his special charge. In behalf of the men who came to lecture he acted in the capacities of reception committee, gen-

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eral sponsor, and host, welcoming them to his home with naïve spontaneity. He was a man of elemental, direct personality, absolutely incapable of calculation—acting on the impulse—big, noisy, frank and trusting; one who took the whole world into his confidence. An admirer wrote of him and his home:

> Paradise Manse was as well known as the famous house in Cheyne Row, and dispensed a freer hospitality. Gilfillan trod with full right "the plainstanes" of Dundee High Street, and everyone knew him. He went with all the air of a chief newly come down from the glens, but any child could thrust a little hand upon him and claim the attention of the minister: there was always something simple in the broad port and thrown-back head.

And now the American philosopher was coming, whom he had so highly praised; with whom there would be fine talk and the confidence of man to man!

On Monday, February 21, Emerson arrived. That day he made his bow to the members of the Watt Institute and others who cared to attend. The audience was assembled in George's Chapel and the lecturer spoke from Gilfillan's pulpit itself. The topic originally advertised was "Shakespeare" but at the instance of the lecturer it was changed at the last moment to "The Spirit of the Times." One wonders what possessed Emerson to abandon the harmless subject first announced for the more perilous and inflammatory one. Had he learned of his host and sponsor's reputed liberal opinions? At any rate Emerson as he spoke that evening boldly declared his conviction that this was an analytical age, a period of individualism; that many of the prevailing institutions of the past, if now found wanting must, in spite of defense by those holding fast to the conservative and the traditional, be swept aside. As the audience filed out of the building dedicated to the service of Calvin's God some shook their heads in disapproval and ominous mutterings were heard.

Family worship after supper was a fixed custom in the Gilfillan household. That evening shortly before the time for assembly Gilfillan showed Emerson to his room. But as the family prepared for prayer Mrs. Gilfillan noticed the guest's absence.

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"Where is Mr. Emerson?" she inquired.

"He has gone to his bedroom," said her husband.

"Have you asked him to come to worship?"

"No, I don't think he would like it. His views are very different from ours. It might embarrass him."

"Never mind that, George. Go and ask him. Let the refusal come from him."

Obediently Gilfillan climbed the stairs. There sat the attacker of formulas, coat off, on the bed.

"The goodwife, Mr. Emerson, wants you down to worship. Will you come?"

"Of course I will," said Emerson.

Next day the traveler went to Perth to lecture, then, after a night in the sister city on the Tay, returned to Dundee for his second engagement. In Dundee during the philosopher's absence there had been rumblings. Verily George Gilfillan had risked not a little as the prophet's keeper. The officers of the congregation, alarmed by criticism which had drifted to their ears, were eager, in anticipation of the dreaded second lecture, to rescind the privilege of the use of the church. But Gilfillan with his usual courage refused to hear of this although he did compromise with his deacons to the extent of closing the pulpit so that Emerson spoke instead from the preceptor's desk. In the words of a witty commentator: "The Celestial powers, let us hope, recognized the distinction, and were appeased."

Gilfillan, stout in defense of his guest, was moved to declare of the lectures which he had heard that not one contained "a single objectionable sentence." Indeed he was full of praise for the second discourse, on "Eloquence," and lauded in particular Emerson's rendering of a passage from the *Odyssey* descriptive of the oratory of Odysseus. "It was translated into prose, the prose of his better essays—by himself, and was read with a calm classical power and dignity which made a thousand hearts still as the grave. For five minutes there seemed to be but two things in the world—the silence, and the voice which was passing through it."

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That evening Gilfillan again sought Emerson in his bedroom. He was fascinated by his guest and, as his early discoverer in Scotland, the powerful medium for the spread of his reputation, as the author of the *Literary Portraits*, he felt that he had every right to examine the man whom he regarded almost as a protégé. There was so much to be talked about; there were questions to be asked and answered; problems to be further elucidated, agreed on, or refuted. The minister of Dundee was a positive man. Loose ends were things not lawful in his philosophy. His frank, transparent nature could not tolerate afterglow; there must be utter white light or blackest midnight. Emerson was a phenomenon to be carefully investigated and plumbed. In one point, if not in more, Gilfillan felt that the seer from Concord had failed him. Where was that radiance which, he heard, sometimes shone like a divine light on his countenance? "We watched Emerson's face very narrowly, but could not, for our life, perceive any glow mounting up its pale and pensive lines." "I was discoursing with him somewhat confidentially," he records of his talk with his guest, "the gas-light between us, when I became suddenly aware of two eyes looking into my very soul. It seemed as if the body had vanished, and those strange serpent glittering eyes alone remained!" Gilfillan was shaken out of his innocent unawareness of himself. He felt uncomfortable; checked. Emerson's glance, "searching and soundless," had broken the back of his eager probing. "He was very pleasant and amiable-seeming," Gilfillan continues, "but there was a deep in his character as well as in his thought."

Emerson's glance, indeed, had peculiar qualities, noticed by several and, like his thoughts, interpreted differently by each observer. Another minister, describing the philosopher's gaze, found in it an unforgettable "singular and surprising lustre, . . . not a surface glitter, but a soft unfathomable transparency, which made his looks . . . like an embodied supplication."

Emerson, of course, had not satiated Gilfillan's hungry questioning. He constantly declined all temptations to controversy and the eager clergyman was forced to retire, his cup unfilled.

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The day after the lecturer's departure found Gilfillan writing, in his breathless epistolary style, a letter to William Allingham almost vocal in its praises: "I have been, as I expected, highly delighted with him." The recent host singled out particularly for recommendation his late guest's

> simplicity, *bonhommie*, ease of manner, quiet depth of talk when the subject pleased him, gentleness, and gentle *humour* in private—in public his masses of essential thought, his strong intellectual faculties, the calm cherubic power he wields over his audience, the severe graces of his delivery, his high, but not stern abstraction, his indifference to praise or blame, his gleams of real insight, and the truly classical and not affected polish which glitters around the whole style and manner of the man. And yet our bigots here and elsewhere are assailing him with every species of coarse abuse, as if he were a circulating Satan. Nothing so tends to rouse me to a mood in which I would crave a rain of Hell-fire from above upon this miserable age of humbug, as when I think of such conduct. Such treatment to a harmless stranger-son of Genius, invited by Britain to come over and help it, and without the remotest thought of proselytizing a babe, *is* damnable and casts a fearful light upon the state of our times. What a want of confidence such persons discover in their own faith!

Is there perhaps too great assurance in the last sentence of this letter? Gilfillan would not admit that he was shaken. Besides, his was a loyal heart. Not instantly could he leap to safety. But his disturbed senses must have told him that he was treading uncertain ground. His preconceived vision of the man had failed to meet his seeing eye. He had not found the "rapt, simple, dreaming enthusiast," the anticipated rosy being of his conjecture. He had knocked, where he believed he had every right to be admitted, and the door had not been opened to him. "Emerson of America is always on his guard—is cold in seeming, and has at times an expression of eye which is profound rather than pleasing, subtle rather than clear." Gilfillan's positiveness had been befuddled by his meeting with Emerson and the experience was painful. Clearly he must assume some position, but what?

The *Second Gallery of Literary Portraits* was published in 1850, two years after the American's departure. It contained

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the largely commendatory sketch which had appeared in *Tait's* in the month prior to Emerson's Dundee visit. But there are a few additions and these are enlightening. Gilfillan now took the American severely to task for his independence; his relinquishment of all authority but the promptings of his own soul.

> When we think of such a mind owning a faith seemingly so cold, and vague, and shadowy; and when, in his lectures, we find moral and spiritual truths of such importance, robbed of their awful sanctions, separated like rays cut off from the sun—from their parent system and source—swung from off their moorings upon the Rock of Ages—the Infinite and the Eternal—and supported upon his own authority alone —when, in short, the Moon of genius comes between us and the Sun of God, we feel a dreariness and desolation of spirit inexpressible; and, much as we admire the author and love the man, we are tempted to regret the hour when he first landed upon our shores.

Four years later, in 1854, the third *Gallery of Literary Portraits* revealed that Gilfillan had leapt for firm rock, and the rock was not Emerson's. Gilfillan had evolved out of the rebuff to his exuberant personality a chimera of hideous proportions and every line of the newest portrait reveals that the "circulating Satan" had arrived.

Back in 1844 Thomas Carlyle, writing to his American friend in Concord, Massachusetts, chanced to mention George Gilfillan. He spoke of him as "a person of great talent, ingenuousness, enthusiasm, and other virtues; whose position as a Preacher of bare old Calvinism under penalty of death sometimes makes me tremble for him." Carlyle was not infrequently a shrewd prophet. The trend of Gilfillan's religious experiences ran its due course until at last he became a believer in the pre-Millennial advent of Christ. In fact the poignancy of his hopes impelled him, as usual, to write a book. But curiously blended with his convictions of faith were his injured sensibilities regarding Emerson, and now the American was numbered among the chief enemies of God. The final chapter of *Christianity in our Era* bears the title: "The Deepening Crisis—Signs of the Second Advent of Christ—the Coming." It is at once a beseeching

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prayer to the "God-Man" in whom he trusted in his darkest hours and a frenzied exhortation for Christ's return. "Come down; the tumult of thine adversaries groweth continually. . . . Come down; for the time—the set time—is nearly come." And Emerson is transmogrified into an evil, devouring beast, a monster such as assailed Bunyan's Christian in the Valley of the Shadow. He

> is one of the *few sceptics* who has *personally*, and by *name*, insulted the Lord Jesus Christ, and, through him, that Humanity of which Jesus is the Hope, the Glory, the Ideal, and the Crown. . . . Emerson, with Julian the Apostate, Voltaire, Paine, and Francis Newman, must bear the brand of using language to Christ which no man of culture would now apply to a Caesar, a Danton, or a Napoleon. . . .
>
> We have heard a dog baying at the moon—we have heard of a maniac spitting foam at the stars—we have watched the writhings of crushed mediocrity as it gazed on the bright pages of genius—and we have understood, excused, pitied, and forgiven all such in their morbid or mistaken feelings. But how one calling himself a man, and reputed really a man of genius, could, in his most unhappy hour, have uttered a word against our Brother—God—the Eternal Child—the Babe in the Manger—the Boy in the Temple—the Carpenter in the Shed—the Weeper at the Grave—the Sufferer on the Cross—the Risen from the Tomb—the Exalted to the Heavens—the Friend by eminence of our fallen Family—the Expected from the Clouds—the Type and Test of whatever is holy, and charitable, and lovely, and lofty in the race of man,—passes our conceptions, and has strained to its utmost *our* power of forgiveness.

At long last Gilfillan had got free of Emerson. " 'Trust thyself?' No! Christianity says 'Mistrust thyself—trust God—do thy humble duty, and call the while on the lofty help that is above thee.' " But storms subside through their own violence. In reminiscent mood, in his diary, he jotted down under date of April 13, 1863: "I have been looking into Emerson's 'Conduct of Life.' He shines in fractions, like bits of broken glass." Remarking that he had not heard from Emerson since the visit to Dundee, Gilfillan added, "He has heard from me, and somewhat too fiercely, I admit, though, at the time, most sincerely."

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What a deal of pother a two days' meeting had aroused! How end the history of this event? Would it be an unkindness to quote Gilfillan's remark, made in 1848, that "the great lessons of a practical kind which Emerson teaches, or tries to teach, are faith, hope, charity, and self-reliance," and recall that he it was who said, in the same year, of Emerson's detractors: "What a want of confidence such persons discover in their own faith!"? Or should one be more charitable? The long fight had weakened the stout warrior. On April 9, 1864 he wrote in his diary: "This is a beautiful day, bright, and with that fine spring softness of feeling, and warmth of breeze, which used to be so delightful. How enthusiastically I used to quote the words of Emerson about spring bringing

> Life's sunshine and desire;
> And from mount and meadow
> Breathes aromatic fire.

But now much of this is gone, perhaps never to return."

Prophecy

DIANA KEARNY POWELL

The road leads, grey and ribbonlike and still,
Down through the fields where I have watched you go
To plough the earth, to plant the corn, and mow
The tall, sweet-smelling hay, to stack and fill
The tottering barn with bounty. Men will till
The same red clay when you no longer come
To hear the cattle low, the reaper hum,
And watch the moon gold-tipping yonder hill.

Young love endures, though the warm flesh of me
Withers away. The heart that beat in you
Will beat in others. Happy things you said
Will echo in the mountains, and will be
On other lips that learn the truth we knew
Under strange moons when you and I are dead.

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Legislating Loyalty

KENNETH M. GOULD

REPRESSION of minority opinion flourishes in any period of stress, notably in times of war or of economic crisis. There have been in the history of the United States at least four violent waves of such reaction: the administration of John Adams, marked by the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798; the period of abolitionist agitation culminating in the Civil War; the entry of the United States into the World War in 1917 and the subsequent outburst of espionage and red-hunting activities under the Wilsonian Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer; and the present conjuncture of economic and political forces in which we find ourselves after five and a half years of drastic depression from which even Bourbons are beginning to doubt the inevitability of recovery.

The motive force of the present campaign against civil liberties is ostensibly patriotic, but a slight examination of the facts reveals its economic bias and background. While such patriotic and fraternal societies as the American Legion, the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, the National Civic Federation, the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, and the Ku Klux Klan furnish the public incitement to these repressive measures, they are supported behind the scenes by such large aggregations of capital as the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers' Association, and by ceaseless propaganda and misrepresentation in the columns both of the Hearst press with its eight million readers and the McFadden and other extreme nationalist publications. These groups perceive in the widespread economic insecurity of recent years a threat of radical action to redress existing inequalities. The New Deal aroused the hopes of labor, tenant farmers, and the increas-

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ingly impoverished middle classes for a more equitable distribution of the national wealth and a more social utilization of America's magnificent productive efficiency. Many of these people have grown disillusioned with the Administration's failure or inability to make good its fair promises. This mood is readily capitalized by such demagogues as Huey Long and Father Coughlin. But it is also fertile soil for intolerance of all alleged subversive activities. The main target of the present wave of legislative repression is, of course, the Communist Party and other radical elements. In Congress numerous bills have been introduced, partly as a result of the investigation of the McCormick-Dickstein Committee on un-American Activities. These bills aim to revive federal sedition laws under which advocacy of the overthrow of government by force is a crime; to bar from the mails all publications advocating similar doctrines; to make criminal any attempt, however indirect, to spread disaffection among the military or naval forces either by anti-war appeals or by opposing the use of the National Guard as a strike-breaking agency; to deport radical aliens for opinion or propaganda; and to create a federal secret service for the spying out of radical or militant labor groups.

Although Congress has not so far been stampeded into enacting such measures a parallel movement in the 44 state legislatures which have been in session this year has met with far greater success. In most states it takes the form of legislation to bar from the ballot political parties "advocating the overthrow of government by force or violence." A typical bill of this nature, sponsored by the national Americanization Commission of the American Legion, has been passed in four states and introduced in 14 others. Other bills would make the mere possession of revolutionary literature, for example Marx's *Das Kapital* or the Communist Manifesto, a crime; or would make guilty of a felony not only those who publish or display symbols, literature, etc. of "unlawful" movements but equally those who "shield" any such person or who enter the campus of any educational institution for purposes of radical organization or propaganda.

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It is hardly necessary to point out here that all these measures, whether federal or local, are unconstitutional and directly violate the ancient liberties of English-speaking peoples as embodied in the Bill of Rights and all its antecedent documents. The interpretation of the limits of free speech, free press, and free assemblage which has been built up by centuries of judicial decisions, by such eminent jurists as Holmes, Hughes, Cardozo, Hand, and others, and by the influence of such enlightened law schools as those of Harvard and Columbia Universities accords with the considered expressions of our greatest national leaders from Washington down and with the ideals of patriotism that animated our Revolutionary ancestors.

I aim here to set forth one specific phase of this general repressive movement—a phase of immediate interest and concern to all Americans associated with educational institutions, whether as teachers or as students—the widespread tendency of state legislatures to enact laws requiring compulsory oaths of allegiance to the Constitutions of the United States and of the individual states, to the Government or the "institutions and laws" thereof, on the part of either teachers or students.

Oath laws of this kind first appeared in the United States during the post-War reaction, when four or five states adopted them. A bill in the New York Legislature was vetoed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in a message which is one of the best brief statements of the case against such laws. He said in part:

> The test established is not what the teacher teaches, but what the teacher believes. . . . This bill must be judged by what can be done under its provisions. It permits one man (the State Commissioner of Education) to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty, and this even without hearing or trial. . . . No teacher could continue to teach if he or she entertained any objection, however conscientious, to any existing institution. If this law had been in force prior to the abolition of slavery, opposition to that institution, which was protected by the Constitution and its laws, would have been just cause for the disqualification of a teacher. . . . The bill unjustly discriminates against teachers as a class. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of thought, it limits the teaching staff of the public schools to those only who lack

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the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions.

Agitation for oath laws died down until 1931, when the Daughters of the American Revolution undertook a nation-wide campaign, declaring:

> The departure from American ideals under the guise of liberalism, internationalism, advanced thought, and radical theories has progressed sufficiently to arouse the concern of those who believe that nationalism is synonymous with loyalty to country, and that in the adherence of youth to this ideal lies the future of America.

Six states passed the D.A.R. bill that year and in six others such bills were defeated or vetoed by governors. Today 14 states have such laws on their statute books: California, Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia. In Rhode Island the State Board of Education prescribes a pledge of loyalty to be sworn to by every applicant for a teaching certificate. In the 1935 legislative sessions the latest information available is that similar bills have been passed and signed by the governor in New Jersey, vetoed in Delaware, passed and await signature in Maryland, and are pending in Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, with varying chances of passage.

The history of the Ives Law of New York may be taken as somewhat typical of such legislation. An oath of loyalty bill introduced by Assemblyman Irving Ives was passed by the New York Legislature in May 1934 against the opposition of many teachers and civic organizations. It was vetoed by Governor Herbert H. Lehman on two grounds—that it was unnecessary because public school teachers were already required, like all other public servants, to take a constitutional oath under the civil service law, and further, that if the bill applied to teachers in private schools and colleges it would unjustly discriminate against a special group of private citizens by compelling them to take an oath hitherto reserved for public employees.

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The sponsors of the Ives Bill did not cease their efforts, however. In an amended form it was reintroduced in the special session of the Legislature held in July 1934 and this time passed with slight opposition because teachers were away on vacation and could not be organized. The bill specifically included teachers in all private schools the property of which is exempt from taxation. This time Governor Lehman reversed himself and signed the bill, making no explanation of the withdrawal of his previous objection to including private school teachers.

The Ives Law reads as follows:

Sec. 709. *Oath to support federal and state constitutions.*

After October 1, 1934, it shall be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to serve as teacher, instructor, or professor in any school or institution in the public school system of the state or in any school, college, university, or other educational institution in this state, whose real property or any part of it is exempt from taxation under Section 4 of the Tax Law, unless and until he or she shall have taken and subscribed the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge, according to the best of my ability, the duties of the position of . . . . . (title of position and name or designation of school, college, university or institution to be here inserted), to which I am now assigned."

(*Laws of New York*, Chapter 862.)

This oath is the precise language of that taken by all public officials in New York upon assuming their offices. In other states, however, the language of the oath is frequently broader, including such abstract generalities as "respect for the flag, reverence for law and order, and undivided allegiance to the government and institutions of the United States." It is evident that to the proponents of these bills support of the Constitution and of our system of government is identical with support of the capitalist system and of the economic status quo, and that any one who proposes significant change is suspect.

On the face of it, such oaths of loyalty have a certain attractive plausibility—that no one who loves his country should ob-

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ject to a public expression of his allegiance to it. Moreover, since the federal and state Constitutions all contain some form of Bill of Rights and are documents traditionally cherished by lovers of freedom it would seem no hardship for patriotic teachers to reinforce their inner fidelity by an official ceremony. On this ground many liberal educators explained their willingness to subscribe to the oath when the Ives Law was put into effect at the beginning of the academic year 1934–35. In every public and private school, college, or university of New York State last October the faculties were asked to swear by the Ives formula, some individually but for the most part in a single public meeting attended by a notary public who collected his usual fee from each teacher—a commercial by-product which did nothing to sweeten the taste of compulsion. Liberal professors might have stated their position thus:

> I did not approve passage of the bill but I consider my social contribution as a teacher of more importance than a futile quibbling over a minor formality. I have lived under and by the Constitution all my life. I believe whole-heartedly in the democratic processes and civil rights it makes possible. I reserve my private right to interpret the Constitution in my own way, and my way is the way of liberal scholarship and jurisprudence which conceives of it as an ever-changing framework for a dynamic social order. If I have doubts of the permanent effectuality of the Constitution for a modern industrial society I shall work for its wholesale revision by the methods which are in itself prescribed.

Advocates of loyalty oaths argue that teachers are in a peculiarly responsible position in the education of youth and should therefore be bound by specially solemn requirements; that such loyalty is only the plain duty of every good citizen, but that since radical agitators are endeavoring to "bore from within" the schools, teachers must by explicit declarations avoid the suspicion of sympathy with them. Teachers in the lower schools at least, according to these patriots, should not have freedom to criticize our institutions because schools are not the proper medium for political action, and children are not mature enough to assimilate destructive doctrines without harm.

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But the case against loyalty oaths is incontrovertible to any one who takes seriously the right of academic freedom. The law imposes a special oath not required of other citizens. Singling out teachers as a class subject to such impositions is unjustifiable discrimination, an obvious reflection upon the loyalty of the entire profession. While its intent is to separate the presumably disloyal radical goats from the sheep and eliminate them from the sheepfold, it is clear to any one who understands human nature that it will have precisely the opposite effect. The most conscientious idealists, in a mood of rebellion against such censorship, are those most likely to refuse to take the oath, thus laying themselves open to the loss of their security; whereas any Machiavellian conspirator against the Republic who coldly measures methods of expediency will take the oath without a qualm. In practice the taking of the oath tends to become a perfunctory operation, performed with flippancy, and bringing all legality into disrepute.

Reasons for the requirement of the oath are nowhere clearly stated in the law, but the interests and groups which generally urge enactment of such laws have long been actively associated with movements to curtail freedom of speech, to oppose economic protest, and to promote militarism. By setting up an undefined standard of loyalty as a weapon against teachers who hold unpopular convictions, oppose war, or take part in movements for fundamental reform the law gives school boards, administrative officials, and pressure groups in the community a dangerous power over the educational process. Thus the law is prejudicial to the morale and integrity of teachers because it lays them under a constant fear of espionage and interference.

The basic loyalty of teachers should be, not to systems of government or to specific institutions or to a conception of patriotism which is, in Dr. Johnson's trenchant phrase, "the last refuge of scoundrels," but to the disinterested search for truth and its diffusion among both the young people who come under their care and the adult members of the community. It is their responsibility to develop and maintain critical intelligence in the flux of

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changing standards. Oaths of loyalty put a checkrein on such intelligence and place a premium on sterile conformity.

The principles of academic freedom have been given their most authoritative formulation by the American Association of University Professors, which has valiantly fought many flagrant cases of discrimination and has stated in its *Bulletin:* "If the students in any college classroom reach the conclusion that their teacher is afraid to speak his whole mind or give his conscientious beliefs, the day of his influence over them is done." In secondary and elementary schools no different standards should apply except in so far as differences in maturity and comprehension of students dictate a reasonable restraint. It is not strange, therefore, that committees of the American Civil Liberties Union composed of such eminent educators as Presidents William A. Neilson, Robert D. Leigh, and Mary E. Woolley; Professors Franz Boas, William C. Bagley, A. O. Lovejoy, H. A. Overstreet, L. L. Thurstone, Felix Frankfurter, and Robert M. Haig; Drs. Jesse H. Newlon, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Alexander Meiklejohn; Ambassador William E. Dodd and many others are actively working for the repeal of the Ives Law and all other teachers' loyalty oaths from the statute books of the several states.

The latest manifestation of the compulsory oath of loyalty is its extension from teachers to students. Though none have yet been enacted, such bills have been introduced in several states. Through the introduction of a student oath bill by Senator J. D. Nunan of Douglaston, L. I., New York again had the dubious honor of leading the way. The bill attracted little attention, had passed the Senate by a large majority, and was in a fair way to passage in the Assembly when a delegation of eighty students from Vassar College descended on Albany. Buttonholing legislators and attending public hearings of the Assembly Education Committee these civic-minded girls gave some of the assembled statesmen the first lesson in Americanism they had ever received and convinced them, at least, that the genus college student would have to be reckoned with in future as among their constituents. This was the more noteworthy in that the Nunan Bill

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would not have applied to students of Vassar or of other private colleges. Its aim was generally recognized to be the suppression of Communism in New York City schools and notably in the tax-supported and tuition-free College of the City of New York. Few legislators can understand a type of mind which protests against a measure that does not affect the personal interests or pocketbooks of the protestants. Their initiative was followed by large delegations of students from C. C. N. Y., Columbia, New York University, Hunter, Syracuse, Sarah Lawrence, Skidmore, Union, and other New York State colleges as well as by some adult educators with the result that the Nunan Bill was voted down in the Assembly Committee—a remarkable testimony to the power of organized protest.

A most cogent statement of reasons for voting against the Nunan Bill was issued by the Honorable Pliny W. Williamson, State Senator from Westchester, as follows:

> The mere taking of an oath of allegiance will not suppress communism. One may take such an oath and proceed to do all in his power to change our form of government. Almost every one you meet has some change in mind. An idea will not yield to suppressive methods. The application of such methods usually ends in extending the idea. Besides, it is wholly un-American to restrict the utterance of opinion. I am against communism. But if I had my way, I should hire them a hall, give them police protection, and let them preach anything except destruction of the government by violence. And I should insist that their meetings be open to all. I am confident that with this method their preaching would attract but little attention. Moreover, there is a chance that they might make some suggestions that would be of value. And there would be no martyrs made among their followers. In my opinion, then, the bill fails to accomplish its basic purpose.
>
> There are other weighty objections against it. In the first place, it did not exclude from its operations students in our colleges who are citizens of other countries. We have sought to build up an exchange of students among our great universities. It may well be that an oath of allegiance to the United States might forfeit the citizenship of a foreign student. Even if such forfeiture were not worked, it is not fair to ask such an oath from a student who is a loyal subject of another country. In the second place, the bill was drawn in a very faulty manner.

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In one section the form of oath as required is stated; in another the form is left to an official. It must be taken to a court for judicial interpretation. Then, in the third place, there is the heavy expense required in taking these oaths, in tabulating them and in filing them. The taxpayers should not be asked to assume that burden.

It was openly charged on the floor of the Senate that any man who voted in the negative was not worthy of American citizenship. Had I not determined to vote against the bill because of the principles involved, I probably should have voted against it as a result of that challenge to my American citizenship.

Other legislators were not moved by such a challenge. One of them, Assemblyman Emerson D. Fite, is Senior Professor of Political Science in Vassar College where the student protest originated. He not only vigorously supported the Nunan Bill but even underscored the soundness of his Americanism by introducing a bill of his own to compel all first voters to take an oath to support the Constitution. The New York *Herald Tribune*, whose custodianship of the Ark of the Covenant has never been called in question, editorially remonstrated with Dr. Fite that the measures he sponsored were "correct enough in principle, but will be of little or no value to the cause which he champions." Continued the *Herald Tribune:*

The assumption behind the first measure was that students who are convinced and declared enemies of the American social order, and of the traditions behind it, have no right to higher education at public expense. . . . It is highly probable that this assumption would be given overwhelming support in a national referendum, as would his beliefs that those who find that they cannot subscribe to our form of government "should go to some country that suits them better."

No evidence of the popularity or right-mindedness of these ideas can be accepted, however, as proof that the oath of allegiance would exclude or eliminate from the state-supported school, the electorate, or the country itself, one truly irreconcilable enemy of constitutional democracy. A lot of quixotic young people, who interpret their mental and spiritual growing pains as conscientious promptings to revolution, would certainly deny themselves educational opportunities and their civil rights as well if called upon to swear allegiance to "the old order of things"; but no genuine Communist would. The oath would mean noth-

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ing to him, and a subsequent breach of faith with the American "capitalist" state would be the discharge of a sacred duty.

The subordination of the educational profession as of the intellectual classes generally to the demands of an imposed governmental discipline is clearly one of the distinguishing marks of Fascism as we daily see it at work in Germany and Italy. Loyalty oaths are an entering wedge in America for the kind of "totalitarian state" which regiments to a single goosestep every school, every church, every concert hall, theater, laboratory, or other cultural interest.

American scholars who may have flattered themselves that they are safe on an ivory tower of freedom from outside interference would do well to cast their eyes at the deeper currents of contemporary society. It is not comforting to learn that in Massachusetts a committee of the most distinguished college presidents of America, including Presidents Conant of Harvard, Compton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, King of Amherst, Pendleton of Wellesley, and Neilson of Smith, were kept cooling their heels through a belated hearing on the teachers' oath bill now before the Massachusetts Legislature while representatives of patriotic organizations and political machines blatantly hissed the champions of academic freedom. Teachers as a class may not be conscious of any solidarity with labor, farmers, and other under-privileged groups, but it must soon become evident to them that the preservation of our cultural heritage demands a wider front of cooperation with progressive movements.

The aims and ends of educational effort change from century to century but the spirit of independence and disinterestedness which justifies its existence has not changed. Twenty-three hundred years ago an educator who knew what demagogic opposition meant set up a banner to which the wise men of the twentieth century may well repair. Said Socrates in his prison, as reported in Plato's *Apology:*

> And therefore if you let me go now, and are not convinced by Anytus.

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who said that since I had been prosecuted I must be put to death (or if not that I ought never to have been prosecuted at all); and that if I escape now, your sons will all be utterly ruined by listening to my words —if you say to me, Socrates, this time we will not mind Anytus, and you shall be let off, but upon one condition, that you are not to enquire and speculate in this way any more, and that if you are caught doing so again you shall die;—if this was the condition on which you let me go, I should reply: Men of Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting any one whom I meet and saying to him after my manner: You, my friend, —a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens,—are you not ashamed of heaping up the greatest amount of money and honour and reputation, and caring so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all? . . .

And I shall repeat the same words to every one whom I meet, young and old, citizens and alien, but especially to the citizens, inasmuch as they are my brethren.

The Microscope Beckons!

RAYMOND FRANCIS YATES

TO say that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives is to be rather unmindful of the beneficence of Nature. Microscopists would be inclined to put the matter this way: that less than 1 per cent of life does not know how the other 99 per cent lives. That, too, is perhaps far from being an accurate appraisal, but it will provide us with a better notion of the teeming life that swarms over the face of the earth. Indeed, in arming our eyes with a simple microscope we discover, perhaps even to our terror, that life is cheap and plentiful. We find it in a million moods, dying a million deaths only to be reborn, to suffer, and mutate.

It can be said without reserve that the grandest, most thrilling, and by far the most edifying of all hobbies is microscopy.

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Strange, too, that so few people warm to its lure, especially when one makes the grand discovery that this stimulating hobby has very recently been robbed of its most deterring factor, expense. And it may safely be said that there is many a philatelist or botanist who would make a better and more enthusiastic microscopist.

Time was when one could not obtain a respectable outfit for the work for less than $100. All that is changed now. Microscopy has had a little deflationary period all of its own and a modest though thoroughly scientific outfit may now be obtained for as little as $10, while about $30 will purchase equipment that will open wide the doors of Nature's archives and provide us with many long-remembered thrills. Even $5 will provide a lone instrument, without tweezers, slides, or stains, capable of magnifying up to 300 diameters.

But what do we mean by "300 diameters"? Microscopes are rated in terms of their capacity to magnify, much as electric lights are rated in terms of their wattage, and a microscope which magnifies up to "300 diameters" can enlarge an object so that the resulting image is 300 times bigger than that seen by the naked eye. The more ambitious beginner with greater financial reserves should be perfectly well satisfied with an instrument of this power, for one larger and more powerful might fit his pocketbook but never his technique. Moreover, if one cared to range through the sciences of zoology, botany, and mineralogy, a magnifying power of 300 diameters opens up a department of investigation it would take countless years to exhaust. Nor would it be necessary to search far and wide for specimens. They are in the back yard, the vegetable bin, the coal bin, common articles of food, Fido's fur, and Dicky bird's feathers. We crush them under our feet, eat them, drink them, and indeed cannot escape them. Specimens, specimens everywhere, but our eyes too blind to see them!

In a sense a microscope is a sort of magic vehicle that carries us into Microland. Its eyepiece or ocular, the lens at the top of the microscope tube through which we peek, is the windshield, and the single focusing knob is the steering wheel. Breath-taking

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pictures that transport us far beyond the dreary, everyday world of commonplaces and give us new inspiration, new wonderment, constantly flash into view. "Man is stupid and prosaic" we shall be muttering as we place new specimens upon the stage—the small platform upon which the objects rest under the lower end of the tube. This lower end holds what is known as the "objective," a second lens which is always an optical multiple of the eyepiece or ocular. By the simple expedient of changing the lower lens we can increase the power of the instrument. In the case of the more expensive equipment, moreover, we can keep pace with our growing proficiency since the manufacturer is able to supply more powerful objectives at modest figures.

The first evening spent over the instrument will be a night of exquisite pleasure mixed with the sudden realization that we are "all thumbs" and, on the whole, quite inexcusably clumsy. Bravely do we yank a hair out of our head and place it between two clean slides, the little pieces of optically clear glass measuring one by three inches, used for mounting specimens. Incidentally, it will be found that cleanliness is far more than being close to Godliness in this work. Invisible specks and smears loom up like brickbats and the windows of Bowery restaurants. Common grain alcohol and clean cotton or linen cloths are everlasting aids.

The hair, so bravely pulled, whose image is so eagerly awaited, is laid between two clean slides to insure its being flat. In microscopy an inch is far more than being as good as a mile. Indeed a thousandth of an inch is as good as many miles for we are dealing with small distances. The hair specimens must be kept in focus and occupy the same plane throughout their entire length. Small as a hair is we discover that we must manipulate the focusing screw in order to bring the various levels of the hair into clear view. Even with the relatively slight magnification we are using we may find that the whole section is not in the same plane. This will be our first lesson in technique and will show us the necessity of keeping our fingers on the focusing apparatus.

The real test of skill comes with the attempt to bring the hair

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within the optical range of the objective—that is to bring it into a position where we can see it. To do this we first bring the objective to within about one-quarter or one-eighth of an inch of the specimen after the latter has been placed in position on the stage. If we are early in learning that microscopes should be focused upward we shall perhaps save ourselves the accident of breaking an objective lens. If we focus blindly downward we are very likely to push the objective lens against the slide with such force that it will break. The technician starts low, works upward.

This done we devote ourselves to the task of bringing the hair within range, a process that may take a little patience. At first, perhaps, only a shadow will come into view since obviously the first view will be out of focus. Once located, however, there is little trouble in manipulating the focusing knob until a fine and clear picture is presented; and then we may marvel at the lead pipe before our eyes. If the light is not just right the adjustment of the mirror under the stage of the instrument will rectify this, for it is the object of this mirror, arranged in a universal joint, to reflect light up through the specimen into the microscope tube. Since too much light will cause eyestrain an even distribution is important.

Something was said about a lead pipe. That is what a human hair looks like under the microscope. We shall also be able to trace the course of the hollow center which will appear a little lighter in shade. It is through this that the hair-food passes from the roots and decrees baldness or luxuriance. If we run the hair along under the objective we shall note that it possesses the same structure throughout. Of course this "running the hair along under the objective" is a little bit harder than it sounds. When we attempt to move it we shall find it disappearing instantly. As we cautiously move the slide back and forth in an attempt to bring the hair back within the range of vision we shall catch glimpses of something that will appear like a telegraph pole in a hurricane. That will be our hair, for it must be remembered that not only does the microscope magnify motions as well as size but that all images in the eyepiece appear reversed. Thus when

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we move the hair to the right it will sweep to the left as our eye sees it. Hence this little chore of chasing the hair can become quite merry, but we shall finally conquer our confusion and lay the foundation for an improved technique.

Common sense says that we shall best spend the next two or three weeks in investigating the many specimens to be found about the household. Perhaps a hunt on Fido's back would bag some big game. With fiendish glee we submerge our first flea in alcohol. After giving him a few moments to dry out we place him on a single glass, look him over, and after examining his biting mechanism probably resolve to keep poor Fido washed and flea bare.

The skin of an onion will reveal a marvelous arrangement of cells, and a little fresh potato scraped off with a knife will bring to light numerous interestingly-shaped grains of potato, some small and others remarkably large. It is sometimes possible to distinguish between different kinds of plants by means of the shape and the size of their starch grains. Every house is littered with grist for the microscopist's mill. The cellar will yield a spider's web, pieces of coal, and even mold. If mold cannot be found a damp piece of bread placed in a dark part of the cellar will rear such a fine crop of this marvelous growth as will delight the eye. We shall find, too, that a mere grain of salt is quite wonderful in its way. No doubt we had thought salt was something like sand and that its particles were quite formless. Surprised indeed we shall be to find that each tiny grain of salt assumes a cubical form.

It seems almost paradoxical to say that the unromantic tube of toothpaste can show us the skeletons or fossils of minute plants many thousands of millions of years old. Our advertising writers have extolled the values of mouth-pleasantness, filmless teeth, flavor, and all that but they have never dwelt on the skeleton of the lowly diatom. This form of plant life, still plentiful in the sea and in ponds and streams, has been with us these millions of years. The silaceous shells of ancient diatoms, derived from old sea-bottom deposits, furnish the abrasive element of most of our

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dentifrices, and a smear of such a toothpaste on a clean slide sooner or later reveals the sarcophagus of one of these tiny plants.

With summer comes an adventuresome spirit moving us to go afield to hunt forests and streams for the strange life they can yield. The equipment is simple, the chase exciting, and one can always bag plenty of game. The stagnant pool offers the most likely hunting ground and, although it does not measure up to professional standards, a wide-mouthed glass jar drawn over the muddy bottom of the pool with a piece of heavy string will bring up enough monsters of the deep to keep us busy for weeks on end if we care to be patient. Both mud and water are placed in the jar which we carry home quite unmindful of the many weird and ferocious creatures we have captured.

To examine this sort of life we shall need a special microscope slide, one with a small indentation, or well, ground into one of its faces. By means of a pipette or a medicine dropper we bring some of the mud and water into the microscope spotlight via the slide with the well. Doubtless the first job of focusing will reward us with at least a glimpse of one of the tiny monsters of the deep. Even the green scum on the surface of the water, so uninviting in appearance, in reality is quite wonderful, and we shall have a great deal more respect for it after we discover that the algae, most interesting of its organisms, are objects of unqualified beauty under the microscope. The cells that go to make up this thread-like member of the plant family are formed in little bundles and strung out like beads.

William Beebe has shown us that it is the bottom of the sea that supports the most interesting life, and Beebe-like we shall come to realize that it is the muddy bottom of our glass jar of wonders that harbors the most fantastic creatures of our miniature aquarium. As we go wending our way through its watery depths we shall also come upon Amoeba proteus, Difflugia, Hydra, and all sorts of strangely formed and mysteriously animated creatures. A little non-technical handbook of zoology and a sister book covering the subject of botany (there are a number in both fields) will help, as will an elementary treatment of biol-

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ogy. It is fine sport to Sherlock-Holmes these boys out into the open but we want to make sure that we read their finger prints aright.

To see a dream walking is perhaps quite mild to the thrill one gets upon first seeing a Hydra eating. If we catch sight of something that appears like an animated cat-o'-nine-tails with its tentacles slowly weaving back and forth we can rest assured it is our little friend the Hydra. By the aid of its waving tentacles it draws its microscopic food to its mouth which is at the center of the circle formed by the tentacle bases.

The procession of life, once we gain admittance to the lower portals, is almost endless. Therein lies a great deal of the fascination. Oftentimes the little mud puddles in the back yard will bring to light a large number of diatoms. They can be found in the bottoms of creeks also, and indeed are quite common. Each takes on an exquisite form that represents, depending upon one's point of view, either brutal mechanism or divine inspiration. Some are round, some oval, some square, some oblong, and within each a pattern is woven as if with gems of various colors. If there is a masterpiece of nature's handiwork, the diatom must be a likely candidate.

With our microscope the world is our oyster. We scuff specimens under our very feet. If we live near the seashore its interesting mites and structures while away endless hours of amusement. In the little ripples left by the tides we shall find Foraminifera, and clinging to the underside of the seaweed still other forms of life. If we wish we can bring seaweeds, which are marine algae, and sea water home and build up our salt water aquarium much as we built the fresh water aquarium.

By the addition of a dissecting microscope, a pair of tiny cuticle scissors, a little alcohol, an old razor blade, and a few other bits or odds and ends we can extend our researches to insects—beetles, bees, flies, roaches, and so on. The dissecting microscope is a sort of operating table with a glass working surface and beneath it a mirror to reflect light upward and into a small magnifying glass mounted above the working surface. Thus is the

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microscopist assisted in the dissection of his various specimens and thus is he able to see and understand the mechanisms that enable bees to sting, flies to walk upsidedown, and beetles to pinch. We shall also find, for instance, that in slapping a mosquito to pulp as he sips away at the blood stream via the arm or neck we have unwittingly destroyed one of the most absorbing mechanisms we shall ever see. The microscope reveals the slip-saw arrangement with which the mosquito makes his incision and the tiny capillary tubes which he inserts to draw off his drop of blood.

Time was when one of our large camera manufacturers used to line the roadways with little signs telling the touring automobilist, "Picture Ahead." In microscopy there is always a picture ahead. Those who contemplate entering the hobby will be interested to know that these pictures may be taken with simple mechanism and that the results, after a little experience, are quite likely to be much better than the results had in ordinary photography, the only equipment needed being a little plate camera, or any camera indeed that can be focused with a ground glass.

To take a photomicrograph we simply remove the lens from the camera and back the eyepiece of the microscope up to the opening that has been left. The eyepiece of the camera then becomes the lens of the camera. After the camera has been properly focused the microscope functions in the capacity of a miniature stereopticon machine, the image of the specimen used being thrown upon the ground glass or tracing linen. Once the desired image appears sharply on this ground glass plate or linen the plate or film is inserted and, presto, we have a picture of an amoeba, a bee's tongue, or a Hydra (though after an exposure much longer than ordinarily necessary). A little experience will be needed for focusing, but it is not long before pictures show marked uniformity of perfection. It is great sport to build up an album of photomicrographs. In place of the old family album wherein we see Uncle Jake in his little Lord Fauntleroy and dear old Aunt Jenny in her hoop skirt we show a section of frog's

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liver or an amoeba—subjects vastly more interesting than Uncle Jake or Aunt Jenny.

The serious microscopist not only photographs his specimens but derives a great deal of pleasure from mounting them permanently on glass slides. These slides, measuring one by three inches, are made of optically clear glass. Over each specimen is placed a cover glass—what amounts to a little button of optically clear glass, cemented and sealed in place by the aid of Canada balsam. Canada balsam is used not only because it has excellent adhesive powers but also because it has the same refractive index as glass, that is, it passes light with the same degree of efficiency and bends it to exactly the same extent as glass.

As time goes on the amateur microscopist finds his library of slides growing and at that point wants to institute a filing system with index and boxes into which his slides will neatly fit. This sort of work gives the business a nice academic touch and also somewhat of a scientific air. It satisfies the craving for method, hoarding, exploration, curiosity, adventure. What mere hobby can do more?

As a curtain speech the writer would warn the reader that very little ground can be covered in an article of this nature. What he has tried to do has been to prove that microscopy is not beyond ordinary skill or beyond ordinary pocketbooks. One cannot hope to absorb much technique from a mere article on the subject, and the reader is strongly advised to reach for some of the excellent books written for the novice in the field.[1] In these he will find something to guide his hand and to stimulate his enthusiasm for what is without question the most captivating hobby in the whole world.

[1] Beavis, Gerald, *The Book of the Microscope*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. $2.50
Collins, A. Frederick, *The Book of the Microscope*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $1.50
Yates, Raymond F., *Exploring with the Microscope*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $2.00
"Guide to the Microscope," *Popular Science Monthly*. $1.00

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In the Realm of Scholarship

Theobald Smith

SIMON HENRY GAGE

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THEOBALD SMITH, born July 31, 1859; died December 10, 1934. That is all that might be said by way of elegy for most of the countless throng in Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, but it would not be enough for this man who opened new paths for the human mind by revealing the resourcefulness of nature in producing and in counteracting disease, thus making plain that by working with nature man can dispel the fear of unknown menaces, and lessen grief by safeguarding human life, especially that of children. Through the discovery of the causes of animal diseases he decreased economic losses and helped to insure the food supply of the country.

Theobald Smith chose his parents, as somebody has happily put it, long before he was born. His forebears were school teachers. He himself was endowed with a keen intellect and had the good luck to be born neither in the enervating atmosphere of too much wealth nor in dire poverty but in the healthy middle register where children and adults have duties as well as opportunities. In Albany, where he was born and grew up, there were good schools. By competitive examination he obtained a state scholarship in Cornell University at eighteen. This provided for his tuition during the entire college course. Since it was particularly honorable in the early days of that institution to help oneself by labor, manual or intellectual, he won the chance to utilize his musical knowledge, part of his early training, in playing the organ for chapel services. He did also much other work requiring manual skill and special knowledge. In the university his scholarly attainments were so marked that every department he entered wished him to major in it. As a member of the teaching staff in biology it was my good fortune to

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have him as a student. He was so evidently a born investigator that every facility was given him, and every encouragement. When Dr. Smith was visiting the university after graduation one of our common friends of the faculty greeted him warmly, then turned to me and said, "We have a grudge against the biologists for spoiling a perfectly good mathematician." But the biologists were not sorry then and never have been since. In conversation Dr. Smith once said that everything he turned his attention to was so interesting he had found it difficult to decide which course to follow for a life-work and thought those with a strong bent were to be congratulated.

After graduation at the university in 1881 and at Albany Medical College in 1883 he returned to Cornell for graduate work, confronted with the impelling question of the part he should strive to play in what the beloved Dr. William H. Welch spoke of much later in his notable address at the dedication of the Theobald Smith house at Princeton as the golden age, the romantic age of medical discovery. At this time, 1884, the economic prosperity, indeed the food supply of the nation, was greatly threatened by plagues which seemed bent on destroying the animal industry of the country. Pigs and beef cattle were dying in appalling numbers. The chief of the Federal Bureau of Animal Industry, Dr. Daniel Elmer Salmon, appealed to the members of the biological department of Cornell for a trained person to join him in trying to stem the flood of disaster. In Dr. Theobald Smith we had such a man, adequately trained in biology and medicine, in whom we had unbounded faith.

Among the earliest appeals to him were those from pigs for relief from choleras and plagues. Dr. Smith constantly remembered that to counteract any disease the fundamental need is to find out what and where is the enemy to be battled with—or, to use the classical phrase, to know the *etiology* of the disease. Suffice it to say that Theobald Smith found the enemies destroying the pigs and opened the way for combating them.

In a letter of 1884 Dr. Smith wrote: "We shall soon attack that still unsolved mystery of Texas Fever." In 1893 the results of the nine-year campaign were fully expounded in Bulletin No. 1 of the U. S. Bureau of Animal Industry entitled "Investigations into the Nature, Causation and Prevention of Texas or Southern Cattle Fever," submitted by Dr. Smith. In his letter transmitting this bulletin to the commissioner of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Dr. Salmon says:

> In the whole list of diseases affecting the domesticated animals there is none so peculiar in its character or so mys-

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terious in its phenomena as was this one previous to these researches. The dissemination of the deadly contagion by apparently healthy cattle, and the harmlessness in general of the really sick animals were inexplicable by any facts which were furnished by the study of other diseases. Veterinarians who had not had an opportunity to observe this disease were skeptical in regard to the correctness of such conclusions, and some spoke of them as a *'romance in pathology.'* These early observations have not only been confirmed, but the phenomena have been explained, and our knowledge based upon a scientific basis.

The mysteries were these. On southern cattle there are frequently many ticks which suck their blood, but the amount of blood so extracted can in no wise explain the deadly Texas fever. Yet where there are no ticks there is no deadly fever. Here I must quote Dr. Smith's own words:

> After it had been shown that the disease failed without ticks, everything was still to be done; what was the cause, the nature of the disease? How did the animals become infected? Did they eat the ticks? Did the young ticks introduce a toxin? Were the intra-globular bodies degenerated red blood cells? To say that a protozoan parasite passes from old to young ticks through the egg and then into their mouth parts and thus to the cattle required some proof before it would be accepted at that time. It took four years of slavery at the microscope, at autopsy, at watching ticks hatch from the egg, and when placed upon cattle, to see the deadly Texas Fever reappear.

The tick did not do the damage directly but it carried the deadly protozoan parasite it had received through the egg from its mother, and introduced it into the blood of its host; and it was the protozoan parasite that entered the blood corpuscles of the cattle and destroyed them. Once the enemy and its mode of procedure were known the counter-attack was plain: eliminate the ticks and there would be no Texas fever. That simple procedure is now saving the cattle industry of the Southland and removing from northern cattle the menace of infection they run when they are taken South or when southern cattle visit the North.

For human medicine and for biological science even greater results followed this epoch *marking* discovery. A discovery, Dr. Smith pointed out, may *mark* the beginning of an epoch but can never *make* it. The Texas fever work opened the road to others for the discovery of the way in which insect carriers transmit the germs of malaria, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, typhus fever, spotted fever, and the bubonic plague from individual to individual, and year by year the list increases. Investigations have also shown that it is not only the tick of Texas fever that carries the infection by way of the egg from generation to generation. Even in animals as high in the scale as some birds this method is found.

Dr. Smith rendered another

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great service in dispelling the fear that tuberculosis of cattle might be transmitted wholesale to human beings, especially the young, through milk and meat. From the time the tubercle bacillus was shown to be the determining factor in the disease it was believed by practically every physician, including the discoverer, Robert Koch, that there was but a single type of tubercle bacillus for mammals, that this could pass freely from one to another, and that similar dire results would follow. Guided by previous observations on this bacillus, Dr. Smith in 1896–98 showed by experiments as rigid as those conducted in the Texas fever work that the tubercle bacilli in human beings and in cattle are markedly unlike. Thereafter the bacilli were called the human type and the bovine type. By the most rigid post mortem study of human beings afflicted with tuberculosis Dr. Smith found that only rarely was the bacillus of the bovine form, and when found it was mostly in the alimentary tract of children. Similarly when healthy cattle were injected with known bovine tubercle bacilli they were overwhelmed by the infection in a few months whereas if the bacilli were of the human type the cattle usually suffered only a small local infection. Although the danger of infection to human beings from bovine tuberculosis may be relatively slight, it by no means follows that cattle with this disease are not a menace to public health. Dr. Smith and practically all sanitarians have therefore urged strongly that this malady be eliminated from the herds of the country.

To Dr. Smith's philosophical mind his early discoveries in producing immunity and in following the modifications of microbes in varying environments suggested a general law concerning the relation of the infection to the infested host. In one of his letters he designated it as "Grimm's law of disease." Mathematically expressed it is $\frac{V}{R}$ —that is, the ratio of the virulence of the infection to the resistance of the infected animal or plant. If the virulence is the greater, the living thing is destroyed; if the resistance is the greater, there is recovery. He saw clearly that every living thing struggles for existence, and in his address at the Congress of Science in St. Louis felicitously expressed his conception of an effort toward symbiosis by the invading parasite—that is, that it is wholly to the advantage of the parasite not to kill the host which is supplying a living; the most successful parasites, in fact, do not kill quickly, if at all, while those that kill quickly are likely to destroy themselves at the same time.

Among the college Greek-letter fraternities he gravitated toward one which was non-secret, Delta Upsilon, and had upon its rolls the names of men now well known—D. S. Jordan, first president of Stanford University; J. C. Bran-

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ner, the geologist, vice-president and later president of Stanford; Wm. R. Dudley, the Stanford botanist who aided greatly in preserving the big trees of California; William Trelease, another botanist, who gave distinction to the Shaw Gardens of St. Louis; J. H. Comstock, the entomologist, and his student, L. O. Howard, who made the U. S. Bureau of Entomology a world institution. There were also E. L. Nichols, the physicist, and many more of the same type but less known to fame. He became in turn a member of three honorary societies, Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, and Phi Kappa Phi. Many of the chief colleges granted him honorary degrees, and he became member of all the main scientific and medical societies in both America and many foreign lands. He received, also, many medals for his discoveries, among them the Copley Medal of the Royal Society, of which he was a foreign member.

International scientific congresses seemed to Dr. Smith a medium for the elimination of jealousies and misunderstandings between nations and he entered heartily into their activities. In 1911–12, as Harvard's chosen representative for the foreign exchange professorship in Berlin, he participated in another movement for international good feeling.

Dr. Smith served not only the Bureau of Animal Industry of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. From 1884 to 1895 he was director of its pathological laboratory. Then President Eliot of Harvard and Henry P. Walcott of the Massachusetts State Board of Health induced him to go to Boston. Others before had tried to secure his services at Rush Medical College and the Albany Medical College, but those invitations he had declined. He served the Massachusetts State Board of Health, as director of its pathological laboratory, from 1895 to 1915, and from 1896 to 1915 was also professor of comparative pathology in Harvard University. In 1901 Dr. Welch urged that he become director of the laboratory in the just founded Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, but he declined because he dreaded the responsibility of directing other people. In this connection he made the significant remark in a letter, "I anticipate much good from this new institution, and eventually it will be richly endowed, I believe. But, after all, you and I know that research cannot be forced very much. There is always the danger of too much foliage and too little fruit." He did serve, however, on the board of directors from the beginning of the institute, was vice-president from 1924 to 1933, and after the death of Dr. Welch in that year was president of the board until his own death in 1934. He was also trustee of another great enterprise, the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In 1914–15 a

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branch of the Rockefeller Institute was established at Princeton for the investigation of the diseases of animals. Of that branch Dr. Smith became director and served until 1929. Then, at 70, he retired and became emeritus member of the institute.

What sort of a human being was this man with such striking endowments? From an intimate acquaintance and correspondence of over fifty years the answer seems simple. Like all normal people he had great affection for family and friends and entered wholeheartedly into the events of everyday life; he enjoyed boating on the lake (Cayuga), bicycling, climbing through the gorges of the wonderful Finger Lake region, and spending vacation periods in the Catskills and Adirondacks with friends. Because of his superior mentality and native dignity he perhaps seemed aloof or even austere to those of little acquaintance or no acquaintance, but for us who saw him close up there came the certainty of his warm and sympathetic heart. In his letters he appealed more than once in behalf of his assistants who must find places outside his department, and these appeals were sometimes strengthened by adding that there were young children to be supported.

After his marriage to Lilian H. Egleston in 1888 the joy that the three children (two daughters and a son) brought to his beautiful home is expressed in many of his letters. In one, when there had been illness among the children, he says: "They are all of them nearly well now. I hope the thud of the little boy's feet will again be heard this week."

In this bewildering world of seeming contradictions there must be some way of escape for at least part of the time. Dr. Smith found that escape in music. When in Washington he reported his happiness in being able to buy a piano and that he was to have the pleasure of playing an organ at least once a week. He said, too, that he had taken to singing, for that with the piano helped to exclude the visions of bacteria, protozoa, toxines, antitoxines, and immunities racing through his brain.

Like all men of great ability he had a proper consciousness of that ability; he had also a deep understanding of human limitations and the unlimited extent and complexity of nature. His life-work in revealing the causes of disease compelled him to look into the world of the infinitely little; and, as the astronomer with telescopes of ever-increasing power can see only a beginning of the world of stars, so Dr. Smith at the opposite pole, with microscopes of ever-increasing perfection, found that he was only seeing just over the frontier in the domain of the infinitely little. He keenly appreciated the thought Tennyson made Ulysses express in the lines:

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Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravel'd world whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.

In a letter he says: "As I travel to and from the laboratory I meditate on how little I know about the things I am working on," and he quotes from Whitman's *Open Road* the thought that must come to every superior mind after it has done its best:

It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

. . .

The New Webster Dictionary

THOMAS A. KNOTT[1]

THE General Editor of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, Second Edition, will not try to review his own book (so far as it is his book) and, having been too intimately concerned with the treatment of most of the contents, is not qualified to judge its excellence impartially. But he may perhaps be permitted to reveal some of the purposes that went into the final conception of what the book ought to be and some of the methods used under the administration of the publishers, whose wisdom about dictionaries has been accumulating for nearly a hundred years.

After assuring themselves of ample funds the publishers turned over the determination of policies to the Editorial Board. This was a working and not a decorative organization and consisted of the Editor in Chief, the General Editor, the President of G. & C. Merriam Co., the Office Manager, and the Pronunciation Expert. It met for three hours every two weeks for eight years and debated and discussed every editorial problem before a decision was reached. The book it had in mind was to be a historical dictionary, based on citations, edited by specialists in all special fields, as scholarly and scientific as possible, and at the same time as crystal-clear in definition as the (occasionally refractory) materials would permit. It was felt that, in a Webster Dictionary, scholarship per se would be not enough; it must also be made intelligible to the general reader, to the business man, even to the boy and the girl in the eighth grade.

First, a trained, skilled corps of professional readers attacked thousands of books, magazines, newspapers, and catalogues in search of new or unrecorded words, new meanings of old words, and evi-

[1] The author of this statement was General Editor of Webster's Dictionaries from 1926 to 1935. He is now Professor of English and Editor of the *Middle English Dictionary* at the University of Michigan.

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dence about capitalization, accents, hyphens, italics for foreign words, and plurals. In such a dynamic world as ours both human institutions and ideas and the language expressing them have manifested unusual vitality and power of growth since 1909. The concrete result of this search was a collection of 1,665,000 citations with "defining quotations," and nearly as many more from special fields that called for further research. Such collections as those of slang, of dialect and American words, and of vernacular names of flowers, ferns, grasses, and trees were made far more inclusive than ever before. Bacteriology, medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, had experienced radical changes. Physics, astrophysics, and astronomy had been revolutionized. Aeronautics, radio, mechanical refrigeration, and automotive engineering not only had arrived but had permeated modern thinking. Psychology had burgeoned into Behaviorism, Gestalt, and Psychotherapy. Two hundred special editors spent years defining words in these and other fields. *Psittachosis*, *supercharger*, *stratosphere*, *bathysphere*, *island universe*, *radium A*, *B*, *C*, *C'*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *and G*, and *vitamins A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *and G* were now almost "popular" words. *Fruition* had cut loose from its etymology and was living an intense life of its own. *Like*, to our intense surprise, had almost become a conjunction. The "National Industrial Recovery Act" and *NRA* emerged almost as our printing presses started.

Twenty-five years of etymological research into the Indo-European, Germanic, Semitic, and Amerind languages, of the coinage of scientific words, and of the borrowing or popularizing of words from Chinese, Japanese, Bantu, and American Indian, confronted our etymologists. Hittite and Tocharian had been discovered and subjected to research. Scores of Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and Old French manuscripts had been printed, throwing new light on the sources of words previously known and unknown. All this material had to be digested, judged, and incorporated or rejected by the etymology editors.

For the first time we had an adequate collection of facts about both American and British pronunciation. Our Consultant in Pronunciation had spent years observing pronunciation in the United States, from life, from phonograph records, from documents, and via radio, and had studied phonetics and pronunciation in England. He reviewed every pronunciation in the new Dictionary, and his rewriting of the Guide to Pronunciation from the most modern, scientific point of view, is a masterly performance.

The writing of the literary and vernacular definitions, a task that constituted about one-third of all our definition writing, was done in the office by editors who knew at least Greek, Latin, Old French,

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French, Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and Early Modern English (as well, of course, as Modern English).

The end stage of preparation was reached in the pouring together of all the contributory streams—literary and vernacular, geographical and biographical, scientific and technical, pictorial, etymological, and pronunciational; the exact "styling" of the manuscript for spelling, compounding, capitalization, etc.; the checking and correcting of hundreds of thousands of cross references; and the final adjustment and condensation of materials to make them fit into the allotted space of 3,350 pages. The Explanatory Notes, with a diagram showing the meaning of typographical and other conventions of presentation, is final evidence of the effort of the editors to humanize their scholarship.

. . .

Marietta College and Early Education in the West

RUFUS C. DAWES

The writer has had an opportunity to draw upon material contained in a book just being published, *A Pioneer College, The Story of Marietta,* written by Dr. Arthur G. Beach, lately professor of English in Marietta College, in connection with the ceremonies to be held next June in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of the College. It contains new material of historical importance and is a fascinating story of the early settlement of New Englanders at Marietta, Ohio and of their efforts to establish education in the West.

THE Ordinance of 1787 provided for the organization of the territory north and west of the Ohio River. The settlement at Marietta, the first under the auspices of the government of the United States, and later the first capital of the Northwest Territory, marked the beginning of the government of the United States over this area. Most of the men who came out to Marietta in 1788 had been officers in the Revolutionary Army. They were accustomed to hard work as farmers and builders and quite prepared to endure the burdens and overcome the obstacles of frontier life. The selection of Marietta as the site for the settlement was determined by its location on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Muskingum, which accorded a means of transportation by water over vast areas to the north and east and to the Gulf of Mexico.

The same advantage centuries ago had led to the selection of this very place for a permanent settlement by the so-called "mound builders," and the remains of their earthen structures covered the ground now occupied by the modern city of Marietta. The new settlers, intelligent men, were keenly interested in these fragments of an old culture, and especially was this true of General Rufus Putnam,

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their leader, an engineer, who made an accurate map of the remains during the first year of his residence in Marietta. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, an early botanist and active in the organization of the Ohio Company under whose auspices the settlement was made, was at that time a visitor in Marietta. From the examination of the trees growing upon these mounds he estimated that the occupation of this region as a city of an ancient tribe of Indians of a rather advanced culture terminated more than eight hundred years before that time. It is only recently that the opinions of archeologists have generally agreed upon this estimate. The more important of these old earthworks were reserved as "Commons" for the perpetual enjoyment of the people.

The pioneers immediately organized a ship-building industry which until the time of the embargo proved to be most profitable and flourishing. Loaded with such products of the soil as could be raised, these boats were floated in spring freshets to New Orleans and sold. The business grew to such magnitude that Marietta was made a "port of clearance" and ships built there, about one thousand miles from salt water, received their sailing papers.

The men brought to Ohio in that early day the standards and the culture of New England and they early determined to establish its educational system in their new home. They had, as a matter of fact, made preparations to accomplish this before they left their homes in the East. They had organized the Ohio Company which purchased from the Continental Congress about a million and a half acres of land, at two-thirds of a dollar an acre, and immediately interested themselves in the terms of the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the government of the United States over the Territory of the Northwest, an instrument containing provisions for the exclusion of slavery, for the protection of private contracts against impairment by law, and for the encouragement and public support of religion and education. The provisions for education contained in this Ordinance proposed by the members of the Ohio Company and accepted without change by the Continental Congress contained these words, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." In pursuance of this declaration the directors of the Ohio Company set aside one lot of 640 acres in each township for the support of religion and an equal extent of land for the support of schools, and two townships of 2240 acres each for a university to be as near the center of the tract as might be. Their example has been followed by nearly all the states since admitted into the Union and

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was therefore an action having a profound effect upon the development of the American educational system.

The government thus established at Marietta in 1788 covered all the area now occupied by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. It was a vast territory under a feeble government, for the greater part of it was still held by the English and until the victory of Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers in 1795 was subject to repeated raids by Indian tribes.

In 1797 the settlers began the organization of the Muskingum Academy and the members of the Ohio Company living in New England sent forward the sum of $200 to promote this activity, probably the first instalment of the great gifts by the people of New England for the development of education in the West. In its course of study Muskingum Academy included Latin, Greek, and higher Mathematics. It had competent instructors and from 1800 up to 1832 the little building erected for this school, large enough to provide for fifty pupils, was continuously open and well attended.

It happened, however, that a series of circumstances obstructed the growth of this promising settlement of the Northwest Territory. The delay by the English in evacuating Detroit and the long-continued hostility of the Indians checked the tide of emigration. The opening of the Connecticut western reserve in northern Ohio absorbed a large number of emigrants from New England; the announcement of the embargo by President Jefferson dealt a severe blow at the infant industry of ship-building at Marietta; the settlement at Cincinnati, because of its closer contact with the older settlements in Kentucky, attracted many of the emigrants who came down the Ohio River; and a little later, in the era of railroad building in which lines of transportation sought the shortest distance between great cities, the location of Marietta was not such as to make it part of any great system. It therefore became sidetracked.

In 1833 Muskingum Academy with its 200 students was superseded and absorbed by the Marietta Collegiate Institute, chartered in 1832. In 1835 a new charter was obtained from the State of Ohio in the name of the Trustees of Marietta College. The very men who had established Muskingum Academy, and as trustees had supported it, became identified with the Collegiate Institute and with Marietta College.

In June of this year Marietta College is celebrating the centennial anniversary of its incorporation under the name of "Trustees of Marietta College." It is hard to explain why this event has been selected for special commemoration. It does not seem to be an important step in this long effort to

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establish an educational institution at Marietta. It seems unimportant when contrasted with the attitude of the organizers of the Ohio Company, the declaration of Congress, the allocation of public lands by the Ohio Company for education, the organization of Muskingum Academy, the transfer of its activities to Marietta Collegiate Institute, and the successful conduct of this Institute. It is certainly impossible to accept the date of 1835 as that of the effective founding of Marietta College. The new charter was the same as the older one for the Marietta Collegiate Institute except that the new charter was not in its terms revocable by the Legislature and it did contain authority to issue degrees. Marietta College ought to be celebrating this year the 135th or the 138th anniversary of its birth, for in spirit it was organized by pioneers in 1797 and opened its doors to receive its pupils in 1800. It was not incorporated at that time but incorporation is not of the essence of life; it changed its name on two occasions but a name does not constitute identity. From the date of its opening in 1800 it never modified in the slightest degree its declaration of principles or deviated from its plans to provide an institution of higher education; its course of study was continuously open to its students; and the same group of men continued to sponsor and support it.

The reservation of lands for the support of a university was made available to Ohio University situated at Athens, a spot selected because of its more central location and with the full concurrence of men in Marietta. Five of its twelve trustees were residents of Marietta. Ohio University is also the product of the declaration contained in the Ordinance of 1787 and of the wise provisions made by the Ohio Company for the dedication of land to educational purposes and of the determination of the early settlers of Ohio to transplant to that area the educational institutions of New England.

If Marietta College was founded in 1797 or in 1800 as a result of the organization of the Ohio Company, the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and of the determination of the settlers to give expression to the declaration of that Ordinance, then the influence of Marietta College in its relation to education in the West was indeed a powerful one exerted at a critical time. If, however, the College was not really founded until 1835 its influence can hardly be said to be greater than that of at least nine other colleges founded in this region prior to that time.

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Discussion

Dare the Teacher Breathe?

To the Editor:

I HAVE read with interest, much agreement, and a rising sense of protest Professor Frederick Weltzin's article, "Dare the Teacher Breathe?" in the Spring 1935 AMERICAN SCHOLAR. However accurate his description of one aspect of rural education, the question certainly has another side.

In rural communities, as elsewhere, there is much ignorance of the meaning and nature of education and no teacher works under ideal conditions. I have spent all my life in a rural area, however, except when away at college, have taught in village high schools and helped prepare many students to teach in them, and it is not true within my experience that the teacher who does her work effectively and acts with common sense in her community relations is often accorded the treatment Professor Weltzin describes. "Let her perform almost a miracle in transforming pitiful repressed beings into joyous, alert, interested boys and girls"—and she seldom needs to worry about holding her job. It is her kind that harried school principals eagerly seek. Incidentally, though I do not find it suggested in Professor Weltzin's article, it is customary, at least in the East, for school boards to leave matters of hiring and firing largely to the principal, who is expected to know something of a teacher's qualifications.

Community appreciation varies with communities—and with teachers. In most communities there are harpies quick to gossip about the teacher, as about the minister. Their barbed tongues sometimes force these public servants out of a merited position. Yet even this unpleasant fact is an implicit tribute to the esteem in which the teaching profession and the ministry are expected to stand! And in no other profession does real ability and a sympathetic understanding of people more surely win an affirmative response.

Professor Weltzin gives an accurate, though somewhat extreme, picture of the conservatism of the rural mind regarding the teacher's conduct outside of school hours. To require teaching in Sunday School or to prohibit the teacher's dancing, is, I should say, decidedly uncommon—but there is no doubt that there is conservatism to be reckoned with. And the root of much trouble lies in the fact that the teacher often fails to reckon with it! The country does not, and cannot, think like the city in all

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matters; and if a teacher rebels against this fact or tries to defy it she brings trouble upon herself. Poor judgment often gets a dangerous reinforcement also from a philosophy of egoistic hedonism which is extolled even in some college classrooms under the guise of freedom to express one's personality.

What happens is often this. A girl of twenty-one, fresh from the liberal atmosphere of college, urban-reared, goes for the first time to live in a small town. At home and at college she smoked, danced, dressed, dated, perhaps drank, about as she pleased. She regards herself as a thoroughly respectable person and sees no reason why she should hamper her personality by conforming to the narrow and old-fashioned standards of Smith's Corners. But she soon finds that the "hicks" have personalities too, and the harpies are talking. To find release from dullness she leaves town nearly every Friday night for more congenial areas. Monday morning she returns, reluctantly and often wearily, to a situation that gets duller as the weeks drag on—and if to relieve the monotony she decides to get married on one of these weekends the school board and their wives, the harpies, find something more to say.

All this could be avoided by common sense and a recognition that the teacher is in the community to give her best service, even at some inconvenience, in return for the salary the community pays her. Restrictions become less irksome if freely accepted. When one goes to a rural community to sell vacuum cleaners or insurance one expects to conform to rural mindsets in order to change them, and this is scarcely less important if one's business is selling education and ideals of character. Conformity in matters of social convention is very different from "safety first" in the matters of principle, but adjustment in the former goes far toward winning the power to be adamantine in the latter. To gain freedom one must surrender some —a truism which ought to be impressed upon prospective teachers more commonly than it is.

Maladjustment of teacher to community is undoubtedly, as Professor Weltzin shows, an important reason why teachers find the occupation distasteful and why they often use it simply as an interlude between school and marriage. But cause and effect must not be confused, and the responsibility is two-sided. Fortunately wholesome attitudes determine situations as surely as the converse. I have seen enough college seniors go out to small-town high schools and come back to alumnae reunions loving their work to believe that the situation is not necessarily so dark as Professor Weltzin paints it.

An apt maxim for the teacher facing an unappreciative community is the word of a Jewish sage, "Wisdom is the principal thing;

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therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting, get understanding."

GEORGIA HARKNESS,
Professor of Philosophy and Education, Elmira College.

. . .

The 100 Per Cent System Again

To the Editor:

I AM sorry my article did not enable Mr. Warren to obtain a clear conception of the 100 per cent system and the way it would work. That he has misunderstood my article is apparent when in his reply he states that the 100 per cent scheme "presupposes one thing, that every credit instrument in the bank, represented by the demand deposits, be of a type or quality acceptable to the Reserve Bank." The essence of the scheme is that demand deposits will be entirely and solely represented by reserves and not by rediscountable credit instruments or any other credit instruments in the hands of commercial banks.

The 100 per cent system would simply put checking accounts on a par with the currency issued by commercial banks—national bank notes, which are backed 100 per cent by Federal debt. Is that "complex"? Furthermore, and this is the important part, no possessor of a national bank note has ever lost a penny on such notes even though the issuing banks have failed. That does not, however, mean that national banks have lost money from the issuance of their notes. On the contrary, it is hard to see how they stand to lose either. To argue then that so far as safety is concerned the present "situation would not be changed by the 100 per cent plan" is to commit an obvious error.

In regard to control under a 100 per cent system, I feel that Mr. Warren is also in error there. Under a 100 per cent scheme the total amount of money (cash and checkbook) in the hands of the people could be held at an absolutely constant figure from year to year if the authorities so desired, regardless of economic conditions, since, as I said in my article and repeat again, the amount of checkbook money would no longer be influenced at all by individual borrowing or repayment of bank loans. Can the amount of money be kept constant under our present partial reserve system? To ask the question is to answer it. Throughout the latter part of Mr. Hoover's administration and the early part of Mr. Roosevelt's, the Federal authorities were trying with might and main to expand checkbook money, but it was like trying to push a string, since all efforts at open market operations and rediscount rate manipulation were offset by a slack within the banking system itself. After reading that record it is hard to see how one can seriously maintain that our 15,000

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bankers are hardly more than "intermediaries" or that control of their reserves means control of their deposits.

Under a 100 per cent system open market operations by the Reserve Banks would bring about an exact dollar-for-dollar change in checkbook money or cash. Such precision, though the very essence of control, is entirely absent at present. When the Reserve Banks buy bonds today they do not know whether checkbook money tomorrow will increase ten times the amount of their purchase or actually decrease.

At present depositors of their own volition can change the volume of money outstanding. By simply moving a $100 checking account from New York City to some suburb enough reserve is freed because of differential reserve ratios to support an increase of $85 more in checking accounts and *vice versa*. If people decide to use checkbook money instead of cash to pay their bills, every decrease in the amount of cash they hold on hand permits *ceteris paribus* a tenfold expansion in checkbook money and, *vice versa*, if depositors on their own initiative increase their demands for cash the total volume of money contracts.

Lastly, member banks on their own initiative can build up their own reserves by rediscounting eligible assets at the Reserve Bank. The Reserve Banks are directed by law (and hence are under obligation) to rediscount for member banks subject to certain qualifications such as safety, impartial treatment of all members, soundness of the eligible paper offered or, under the Act of 1934, the use of funds for speculative purposes. With member banks free to rediscount more or less at will the Reserve Banks, of course, do not have "absolute control" over the aggregate amount of member bank reserves. Under a 100 per cent system rediscounting at most would be permitted only when and if the authorities wished to expand the money supply by the exact amount rediscounted. Along with some others, I should abolish the rediscount privilege altogether, placing full reliance upon open market operations.

In the face of these facts it is easy to see that monetary control in this country is not all that it might be. For further details, however, I am obliged to refer to Professor Irving Fisher's book, *100 Per Cent Money*, on the 100 per cent system.

RICHARD A. LESTER.

• • •

American Humor: Roots or Flowers?

To the Editor:

MISS ROURKE, in reading my article, made a common and very human mistake. I was trying to generalize the most extreme

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views of a whole group of students of our humor—not Miss Rourke alone, but Mr. De Voto, Mr. Meine, and others. Such a generalization is likely to over-emphasize certain aspects of the ideas on which it is based. If one individual takes the whole generalization as applying to himself he naturally feels a lively sense of injustice. This is what Miss Rourke seems to have done.

She has, however, redressed the balance by attributing to me views which I have not stated and do not hold. I know, for instance, that most of the *Mabinogion* was not originally meant as humor—even though the lame pismire must have been. But the materials of humor are there. Once the popular mind lost reverence for these tales as history, their humorous distortion followed. Lucian's treatment of classical mythology makes a joke of stories which Homer and Aeschylus took seriously. Anatole France does the same with mediaeval saints' legends. The tales are not changed; the attitude of the teller is. I remember my father—an Ulsterman—telling some of the tales of Finn M'Cool. His attitude towards them lacked the seriousness of a mediaeval bard's recital of a national saga.

Miss Rourke points out that English audiences in the 19th century were puzzled by American comedians and failed to appreciate their humor. My own conviction is that the puzzlement was over the unfamiliar intonations and social backgrounds rather than over the intellectual core of the humor. This, admittedly, is a matter of opinion not easy to prove.

But when Miss Rourke makes

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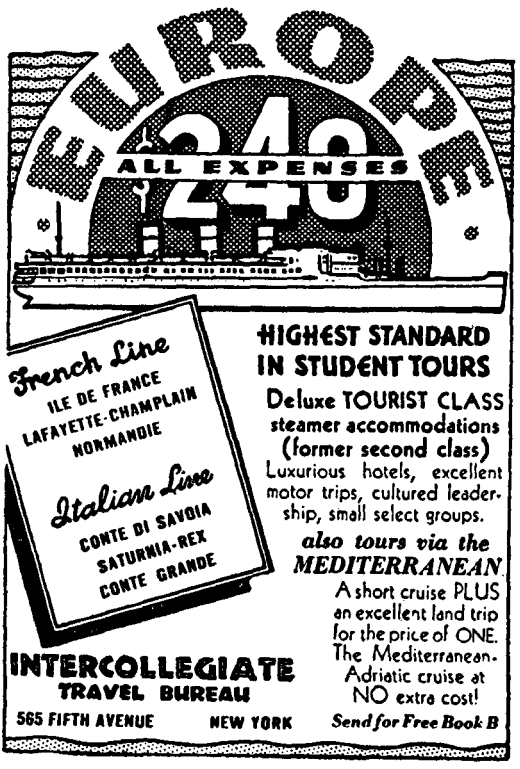

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the point that British humor has none of the "scene" in which American tall stories abound she is proving something I never attempted to deny. I did not claim that every detail of American humor is discoverable in British analogues; I only claimed that the mental attitudes which produced it were plainly discernible in the old country. I was talking about roots; Miss Rourke is talking about flowers.

Americans are not Englishmen, and American humor is not English humor; but both the American and his humor had their origin in England, and have merely undergone changes brought about by changed conditions and a new environment.

Mark Twain said that nearly 40 years ago in *Following the Equator.* J. DeLancey Ferguson.

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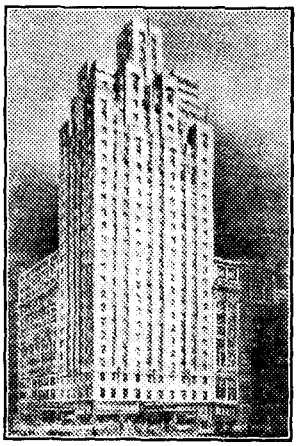

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What's the Name, Please?

Voliva—overseer, Zion City—not *vo-lye'va* nor *vo-lee'va*, just *vol' i-va.*

Coert du Bois—U. S. Consul General at Naples, —Anglicized to *cort doo boys.*

Dubilier—wireless inventor—not the French, *dee-bil-yea,* but American, *doo-bil'ear.*

Gherardi—expert in telephony—not *jer,* but *ger: ger-ar'dee.*

Jonas Lie—president, National Academy of Design—not *yo'nas,* but *jo'nas,* and *Lie* is *lee.*

Seldes—journalist and author—take *Selden* and change *n* to *s: sel'des.*

—**Frank H. Vizetelly.**

The Lexicographer's Easy Chair

(TITLE REGISTERED IN U. S. PATENT OFFICE)

To decide questions concerning the correct use of words for this column, the Funk & Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary is consulted as arbiter.

Readers who require immediate attention will receive it if they enclose a stamped return envelop. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

fin de siècle.—"O. A. A.," Saco, Mont.—This is a French phrase and is defined: "Literally, end of the century; up to date; an expression used during the closing years of the 19th century for that which was most progressive, novel in fashion, or advanced in ideas." The phrase is pronounced *fan da sye'kl*—first *a* as in *fat, n* as in the French word *bon,* second *a* as in *final, e* as in *prey.*

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